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**KHRUSHCHEV'S REPORT ON:**

**THE WORLD SITUATION**

**THE CONSTRUCTION OF  
COMMUNISM IN THE  
USSR**

**THE ROLE OF THE  
COMMUNIST PARTY**

What the Soviet leaders think and plan in the present stage of world history. This is the full *Report of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. to the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* delivered by Nikita S. Khrushchev.

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Documents of the 22nd Congress of the CPSU -

VOLUME I

Report of the Central Committee  
of the CPSU to the 22nd Congress  
of the Communist Party of the  
Soviet Union

Delivered by

N. S. Khrushchev, October 17, 1961

*The World Situation*  
*The Construction of*  
*Communism in the USSR*  
*The Role of the*  
*Communist Party*

and

Khrushchev's Concluding Speech to  
the 22nd Congress, October 27, 1961

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## Contents

### INTRODUCTION

5

### *Part One*

#### THE PRESENT WORLD SITUATION AND THE INTERNATIONAL POSITION OF THE SOVIET UNION

9

I. The Further Growth of the Might of the Socialist System and Its Conversion into a Decisive Factor in World Development. Strengthening of the International Brotherhood of the Socialist Countries

13

II. Aggravation of the Contradictions in the Capitalist Countries. Growth of the Revolutionary Struggle and Upsurge of National-Liberation Movement

22

III. Peaceful Coexistence Is the General Line in Soviet Foreign Policy. The Peoples Are the Decisive Force in the Struggle for Peace

41

IV. Seek the Settlement of International Problems by Peaceful Means. Expose the Intrigues and Maneuvers of the Warmongers. Improve Relations Between Countries

49

### *Part Two*

#### THE SOVIET UNION ENTERS THE PERIOD OF FULL-SCALE COMMUNIST CONSTRUCTION

63

I. The Struggle to Build Up the Country's Economic Might. The Seven-Year Plan, an Important Stage in the Creation of the Material and Technical Basis of Communism

64



|   |     |
|---|-----|
| II. Make Fuller Use of the Untapped Potentialities of Soviet Economy, Eliminate Waste and Mismanagement. Effect an All-Round Increase of Labor Productivity                                     | 79  |
| III. A Highly-Developed Agriculture Is a Necessary Condition for the Construction of Communism. The Development of Virgin Lands Is a Great Achievement of the Soviet People                     | 88  |
| IV. Press Forward Agricultural Progress. Meet the Population's Demand for Farm Products More Fully  | 105 |
| V. Improvement in the People's Living Standards. The Flowering of Science, Education, Literature and Art  | 113 |
| VI. Development of Socialist Social Relations into Communist Relations. Promoting of Soviet Democracy. Socialism and Freedom of the Individual  | 127 |
| <i>Part Three</i>   |     |
| THE LENINIST PARTY IS THE ORGANIZER OF THE STRUGGLE FOR THE VICTORY OF COMMUNISM  | 139 |
| I. Elimination of the Consequences of the Cult of the Individual. Promotion of the Leninist Standards of Party Activity and Principles of Leadership. Enhancement of the Militancy of the Party | 141 |
| II. The Party's Organizational Work and the Training of Cadres. The Active Participation of the Masses in Public Work Is the Key to New Successes   | 159 |
| III. The Ideological Activities of the Party; Strengthening Bonds with the People in Their Day-to-Day Life. Communist Construction and the Development of Revolutionary Theory                  | 173 |
| CONCLUDING SPEECH   | 191 |

## Introduction

Comrades:

Some six years have elapsed since the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The past years have had exceptional, we may say even historic, significance for our Party, for the Soviet people and for all mankind.

Our Soviet homeland has entered the period of the full-scale construction of communism along the entire broad front of giant undertakings. The economy and culture of the Soviet Union are making rapid progress. The Seven-Year Plan, the plan for a tremendous development of our country's productive forces, is being successfully implemented. Throughout the country the people's creative forces flow as from thousands of fountains. The flights of Soviet cosmonauts into space, the first of their kind in the history of man, symbolize the crowning glory of our achievements, the banner of communist construction raised high. Socialism has been firmly established throughout the



world socialist community. The major events of the past years have been an expression of the chief law of the day—the tempestuous process of growth and strengthening of the life forces of the world socialist system.

Our Party and our state have been functioning in a complicated international situation. On a number of occasions the imperialists have attempted to bring the world to the brink of war and to challenge the strength of the Soviet Union and the courage of its peoples. Many bourgeois politicians have found comfort in the illusion that our plans would fail and the socialist camp collapse. They have designed more than a few acts of provocation and sabotage against us. The Party and the entire Soviet people have exposed the intrigues of our enemies and have emerged from all trials with honor. The Soviet Union is today stronger and more powerful than ever before!

Now that the land of Soviets is in the prime of its creative strength and we are reviewing the victorious path we have traveled, there may be some people who think that that path has been an easy and simple one. But it has not; the period since the Twentieth Congress has been neither easy nor simple, it has required of our Party and of all the peoples of the Soviet Union tremendous effort and sacrifice. *It has fallen to the lot of the Soviet people, of the Party of Communists of the Soviet Union, to be pioneers in the great mission of communist construction, and advance to the victory of communism over uncharted paths.*

History does not develop in a straight line, it has its zigzags and abrupt turns. To be a political leader a party must possess truly great qualities and not lose sight of the

overall perspective under conditions of tempestuous movement and sharp turns in the development of society, must see clearly the road to communism. These qualities are possessed in full by the Party of Communists of the Soviet Union, the Party created by Lenin. To find a correct solution to the major problems, evolve the general line in domestic and foreign policy and put it firmly into effect, the Party and its Central Committee needed a profound understanding of events, revolutionary boldness and determination.

Events have fully borne out the Party's theoretical conclusions and political course, its general line. The ten-million strong Party of Communists of the Soviet Union has come to its Twenty-Second Congress united and solid, linked up with the Soviet people by unbreakable bonds. The five thousand delegates to our Congress, the finest sons and daughters of the great Party of Lenin, personify the unity of the Party and the people, their will and thoughts.

The course adopted by our Party has been of tremendous significance in strengthening the unity of the socialist countries, the unity of the international Communist and working-class movement, and in preserving the peace and preventing a new world war. The Soviet state has gained still greater authority and prestige in world affairs. Meetings of representatives of Communist and Workers' parties have assessed highly the role of the C.P.S.U. in the international Communist and working-class movement.

Permit me, on behalf of this Congress, on behalf of all Communists of the Soviet Union, to express our heartfelt gratitude to the fraternal parties for their confidence in our Party. Permit me to assure our guests here, the delegates



from the fraternal parties, that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will, in the future, continue to fulfil its internationalist duty to the working people of all countries, to all progressive people.

## *Part One*

### THE PRESENT WORLD SITUATION AND THE INTERNATIONAL POSITION OF THE SOVIET UNION

Comrades, the chief content of the period following the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U. is the competition between the two world social systems — the socialist and capitalist systems. It has become the pivot, the main feature of world development in the present historical period. Two lines, two historical tendencies in social development, are becoming more and more evident. One of them is the line of social progress, of peace and creative activity. The other is the line of reaction, oppression and war.

If we imagine the whole globe as the scene of this competition, we see that socialism has been winning one position after another from the old world. In the first place capitalism has been seriously cramped by socialism in a decisive sphere of human activity, that of material production. The socialist system's share in world production has increased and its rates of development greatly exceed



those of the most advanced capitalist countries. It is obvious to everyone that the socialist countries are able to develop colossal productive forces and create a real abundance of material and spiritual values.

While conducting an unswerving policy we have not forgotten the threat of war on the part of the imperialists. Everything necessary has been done to ensure the superiority of our country in defense. The achievements of socialist production and Soviet science and technology have enabled us to effect a real revolution in matters military. Our country and the entire socialist camp now possess vast power, ample to provide a reliable defense for the great gains of socialism against the inroads of imperialist aggressors. The growing defense power of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and the world peace forces have not allowed the imperialists to divert the competition between the two systems from the path of peace on to that of armed conflict, of war. The Soviet Union, while pursuing the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence, has resolutely exposed and checked imperialist provocations.

*The fact that it has been possible to prevent war, and that Soviet people and the peoples of other countries have been able to enjoy the benefits of peaceful life must be regarded as the chief result of the activities of our Party and its Central Committee in increasing the might of the Soviet state and in implementing a Leninist foreign policy, as a result of the work of the fraternal parties of the socialist states and the greater activity of the peace forces in all countries.*

During recent years, as we know, the imperialists have made a number of attempts to ignite the fires of a new

war and test the strength of the socialist system. During the past five years the U.S.A. and its closest allies have frequently resorted to brutal force, have resorted to arms. But on each occasion the Soviet Union and all the socialist countries have checked the aggressor in good time. Of particular, fundamental importance were the actions of the socialist countries in defense of the peoples struggling for their liberty and independence. The masses are getting to realize more and more that the Soviet Union and all the socialist countries are a reliable support in the struggle the peoples are waging for their liberty and independence, for progress and peace.

*In the course of the peaceful competition between the two systems capitalism has suffered a profound moral defeat in the eyes of all peoples.* Ordinary people are being daily convinced that capitalism cannot solve any of the urgent problems facing mankind. It is becoming ever more obvious that these problems can be solved only through socialism. Faith in the capitalist system and the capitalist path of development is dwindling. Monopoly capital is losing influence and resorting more frequently to the intimidation and suppression of the people, to methods of open dictatorship to implement its domestic policy, and to aggressive acts against other countries. The masses, however, are offering increasing resistance to reaction.

It is no secret that intimidation and threats are not a sign of strength but are evidence of the weakening of capitalism and the deepening of its general crisis. As the saying goes, "If you couldn't hang on by the mane, you won't hold on by the tail!" The reactionaries in some countries are still able, in defiance of constitutions, to dis-



solve parliaments, cast the best representatives of the people into prison and dispatch cruisers and marines to subdue the "unruly." All this may put off for a time the fatal hour of capitalist rule. Such measures of repression, however, expose, to a still greater extent, the predatory nature of imperialism. The imperialists are cutting off the branch on which they are sitting. There are no barriers in the world that can stem mankind's advance along the road of progress.

Events show that our Party's policy, elaborated by the Twentieth Congress, was a correct and true one: the Congress noted that the main feature of our epoch was the emergence of socialism beyond the bounds of one country and its conversion into a world system. In the period since that Congress there has been further important progress—the world socialist system is becoming a decisive factor in the development of society.

The Party drew the conclusion that the collapse of colonialism is inevitable. Under the powerful blows of the national liberation movement the colonial system has, to all intents and purposes, fallen to pieces.

The Party propounded the important thesis that wars between states are not inevitable in the present epoch, that they can be prevented. The events of the past years serve to confirm this, too. They show that the mighty forces that stand watch over the peace have today effective means of preventing the imperialists from launching a world war. The superiority of the forces of peace and socialism over those of imperialism and war has become more evident.

To put it briefly, comrades, for us those six years have been good years on a world scale.

## I. THE FURTHER GROWTH OF THE MIGHT OF THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM AND ITS CONVERSION INTO A DECISIVE FACTOR IN WORLD DEVELOPMENT. STRENGTHENING OF THE INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

In the period under review an important stage in the development of the world socialist system has been completed. Its specific features are these:

The Soviet Union has launched the full-scale construction of communism; the majority of the People's Democracies have abolished multiformity in their economies and are now completing the building of socialism; fraternal co-operation and mutual aid between the socialist countries have been developed in every way. Not only in the Soviet Union, but in all socialist countries, social and economic possibilities for the restoration of capitalism have now been eliminated. The growing might of the new world system guarantees the permanence of the political and socio-economic gains of the socialist countries. The complete victory of socialism is ensured within the framework of the community of genuinely free peoples.

The economy of the world socialist system continues to develop at incomparably higher rates than the capitalist economy. Here are some figures showing the growth of industrial production in the socialist and capitalist countries.



(For a comparable area in % of 1937)

| <i>Years</i> | <i>Socialist Countries</i> | <i>Capitalist Countries</i> |
|--------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1937         | 100                        | 100                         |
| 1955         | 362                        | 199                         |
| 1956         | 404                        | 208                         |
| 1957         | 445                        | 215                         |
| 1958         | 521                        | 210                         |
| 1959         | 610                        | 231                         |
| 1960         | 681                        | 244                         |

As you can see, the industrial output of the socialist countries in 1960 was 6.8 times that of 1937, while the capitalist countries had increased theirs less than 2.5 times. The socialist countries' share in world industrial production was 27 per cent in 1955 and in 1960 it had increased to roughly 36 per cent.

The ratio of industrial to agricultural production has changed in all socialist countries. The share of industrial production is growing rapidly, the average for the whole socialist community now being about 75 per cent. The development of world socialist economy is in the direction of industrialization.

In the majority of the People's Democracies the great revolutionary event of the period was the organization of producer co-operatives in agriculture. The socialist sector's share in the total area of farmlands in the socialist countries is now more than ninety per cent. This has resulted in a change in the class structure of society, a stronger alliance between the working class and the peasantry and the abolition of the economic basis for the exploitation of man by man. The moral and political unity of the people, first established in our country, is growing stronger in all

socialist countries. Our people feel deep satisfaction over the successes in socialist construction achieved by the great Chinese people and by other fraternal peoples, and wish them further success.

Thanks to economic progress, the living standards of the people in the socialist countries have improved. It is all the more gratifying to note this because the revolutionary reorganization of society in the fraternal countries during the early years was inevitably accompanied by considerable losses and difficulties, and large sums had to be spent to overcome the economic backwardness inherited from capitalism. Now that an important stage in social reorganization has been completed, more favorable conditions have been created for a further growth of economy and culture and for a higher standard of living for the people.

The appearance of a large group of sovereign socialist states in the world brought into the foreground the problem of organizing their mutual relations and co-operation on a basis that was new in principle. By their joint efforts, the fraternal parties have found and are improving new forms of relations between states—economic, political and cultural co-operation based on the principles of equality, mutual benefit and comradesly mutual aid. The growing fraternal rapprochement between the socialist countries and their political and economic consolidation constitute one of the decisive factors of the durability and indestructibility of the world socialist system. We joined forces voluntarily in order to march forward to a common goal together. The union was not imposed on us by anyone. We need it as much as we need air.



In the first stage of the development of the world socialist system, relations between the countries were effected mostly by way of bilateral foreign trade and scientific and technical exchange, the dominant forms being aid and credits granted by some countries to others.

In recent years the experience of the fraternal parties has brought into being a new form—direct co-operation in production. Take, for instance, the correlation of the basic indices of development in some branches of the economy for the 1956-1960 period, agreed upon by the member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid (CMEA). This was an important step forward. Since 1959 state plans for economic development have been co-ordinated. It has become the practice to arrange periodic consultations and exchanges of opinion between leaders of parties and governments on important economic and political problems. The collective organs of the socialist states—the Warsaw Treaty Organization and the Council for Mutual Economic Aid—have grown stronger.

We have every ground for speaking of a durable socialist community of free peoples existing in the world today.

The profound qualitative changes that have taken place in the socialist countries and in relations between them are evidence of the growing maturity of the world socialist system which has now entered a new stage of development. The chief thing now is, by consistently developing the economy of each socialist country and all of them collectively, to achieve preponderance of the socialist world's absolute volume of production over that of the capitalist world. This will be a great historic victory for socialism. The achievements of our country, which is the first to

have entered the path of full-scale communist construction, facilitate and accelerate the advance of the other countries of the world socialist system toward communism.

The constant improvement of forms and methods of economic resources and possibilities and the observance of scientifically founded proportions in the development of the various branches of the economy of each individual country now assume particular significance. As never before there is now a growing necessity to make the most reasonable and effective use of the advantages arising out of the development of the world socialist system—the socialist international division of labor, specialization and co-operation in production, the co-ordination of economic plans, the world socialist market and its possibilities.

In the period under review the trade turnover among the socialist countries has been growing with exceptional rapidity, its rate of growth greatly exceeding that of the trade turnover among capitalist countries. In the 1950-1960 period the trade turnover between the member states of the socialist community was more than trebled. The trade turnover between the capitalist countries for the same period was only doubled. In the new stage of the development of the world socialist system, too, mutually beneficial trade between the fraternal countries will occupy an important place. Subsequently, it will probably be effected in accordance with the same principles as trade within each socialist country, that is, with compensation for the expenditure of socially necessary labor. The more fully this principle operates, the more effective will be the economic stimuli in each country, the more rapid will be the development of inter-state co-operation and the socialist



international division of labor, with due regard for the national interests of each sovereign state.

*The combination of the effort to develop the economy of each socialist country on the one hand, and the common effort to strengthen and expand economic co-operation and mutual assistance on the other, is the main road to further progress in the world socialist economy.*

Comrades, Lenin's statement to the effect that socialism exercises its influence on world development mainly by its economic achievements is today more valid than ever. The all-around and growing influence of the building of socialism and communism on the peoples of the non-socialist countries is a revolutionizing factor that accelerates the progress of all mankind.

Socialism is firmly maintaining priority in rates of economic development and is ahead of the capitalist countries in the development of a number of highly important branches of world science and technology. The imperialist countries have lost their former monopoly in supplying the world non-socialist market with means of production, and also in granting credits, loans and technical services. The peoples of Asia and Africa who have liberated themselves from the foreign colonial yoke are looking more and more frequently to the socialist countries, and borrowing from them experience in the organization of economic and social life. In the world socialist system they seek protection and support in their struggle against colonialist encroachments on their liberty and independence.

With the growth of the might of the socialist states the material and moral factors for peace become stronger. The cardinal problems of the day, the problems of war and

peace, for instance, can no longer be approached only from the standpoint of the laws of capitalism and their operation. Today it is not imperialism with its wolfish habits, but socialism with its ideals of peace and progress that is becoming the decisive factor in world development.

The socialist countries have broken the road for new norms of international life by demonstrating to the whole world an example of really equal, fraternal relations between peoples. Under the influence of the ideas of socialism, the working people's struggle for emancipation and the general democratic movement of the peoples are merging into a common world-wide torrent that is washing away the supports of imperialism.

As socialism wins new victories, the unity of the peoples, both within each socialist country and in the world socialist system as a whole, grows stronger.

In the same way as a mighty tree with deep roots does not fear any storm, so the new, socialist world does not fear any storm. The counter-revolutionary insurrection in Hungary, organized by internal reaction with the support of the imperialist forces, and the intrigues of enemies in Poland and the German Democratic Republic showed that in the period of socialist construction the class struggle may, from time to time, grow stronger and take on sharp forms. In the future, too, the remnants of internal reaction may, with imperialist backing, attempt to sever one country or another from the socialist system and to restore the old bourgeois regime. The reactionary forces gamble on the difficulties that are inevitable in an undertaking as new as the revolutionary transformation of society, and continue sending their agents into the socialist countries.



The ruling circles of certain imperialist powers have elevated subversive activity against the socialist countries to the level of state policy. The United States of America expends, with frank cynicism, hundreds of millions of dollars on espionage and sabotage against the socialist countries, and organizes so-called "guerilla units" made up of criminal elements, cut-throats who are prepared to undertake the vilest of crimes for money. For several years in succession provocative "captive nations weeks" have been held in the United States. The paid agents of the monopolies call "captive" all those peoples that have liberated themselves from imperialist bondage and have taken the path of free development. Truly, imperialist demagoguery and hypocrisy know no bounds! Monopolists who howl about "captive nations" are like the crook who has his hands in somebody's pocket and shouts "Stop thief!"

The intrigues of the imperialists must always be kept in mind. Our gigantic successes in building the new way of life must not lead to complacency and relaxation of vigilance. The greater the achievements of socialism and the higher the living standards in each socialist country, the more solidly the people will rally around the Communist and Workers' parties. That is one aspect of the matter, and a very encouraging one. There is, however, something else to be borne in mind. As the unity of the peoples of all socialist countries grows the hopes the imperialists have of restoring the capitalist regime, of the socialist countries degenerating, are gradually fading away. World reaction, therefore, is more and more turning to the idea of striking a blow at the socialist countries from outside in order to win capitalist world domination through

war or, at least, to check the development of the socialist countries.

The most rabid imperialists, who act in accordance with the principle "after us the deluge," openly voice their desire to set out on a new war venture. To intimidate the peoples the ideologists of imperialism are trying to instill into them a kind of philosophy of hopelessness and despair. "Better death under capitalism than life under communism," they cry out hysterically. They, you see, do not like free peoples to prosper. They are afraid that the peoples of their countries will also take the path of socialism. Blinded by class hatred, our enemies are prepared to plunge all mankind into the holocaust of war. The possibilities for the imperialists to implement their aggressive plans are, however, becoming fewer. They behave like that feeble and covetous old man whose strength was exhausted, whose physical capacity was low, but whose desires had remained.

The imperialists, of course, may set out on dangerous adventures, but they have no chance of success. They are prepared to try other ways as well. To weaken the socialist community the imperialists try to bring about quarrels between the peoples of the fraternal countries or introduce discord into the relations between them, to revive the remnants of national strife and artificially heat up national sentiment.

A great historical responsibility rests with the Marxist-Leninist parties, with the peoples of the socialist countries—to strengthen tirelessly the international brotherhood of the socialist countries and friendship between nations.

As long as the imperialist aggressors exist we must be on the alert, we must keep our powder dry and improve



the defenses of the socialist countries, their armed forces and their state security organs. If the imperialists, in contradiction to all common sense, dare attack the socialist countries and hurl mankind into the abyss of a world war of annihilation, that mad act will be their last, it will be the end of the capitalist system.

Our Party has a clear understanding of its tasks and its responsibility and will do everything in its power to ensure that the world socialist system will continue to grow stronger, gather fresh momentum and develop further. We are confident that socialism will be victorious in the competition with capitalism. We are confident that the victory will be won in peaceful competition and not through war. We have taken our stand, and always shall take our stand on the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems; we shall do everything to strengthen peace throughout the world.

## II. AGGRAVATION OF THE CONTRADICTIONS IN THE CAPITALIST COUNTRIES. GROWTH OF THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE AND UPSURGE OF THE NATIONAL-LIBERATION MOVEMENT

Comrades, the Twentieth Congress of the Party analyzed the situation in the capitalist countries and drew the conclusion that they were moving steadily towards new economic and social upheavals. This conclusion has been borne out. In the years that have elapsed there has been further aggravation of contradictions both within the capitalist

countries and between them. Colonial empires have been collapsing and the struggle of the working class and the national-liberation movement of the peoples have assumed huge proportions.

The general tendency—the further decay of capitalism—has continued to operate ruthlessly. Although there has been some growth in production, the economy of the capitalist countries has become still more unstable and reminds one of a man sick with fever, so often do its temporary recoveries give way to depressions and crises. The U.S.A., the chief capitalist country, has experienced two critical recessions in five years; in the post-war period as a whole there have been four such recessions. The crisis of 1957-1958 involved countries whose share in capitalist industrial output amounts to almost two-thirds of the whole. With the incomes of the monopolies increasing to a fabulous degree, real wages have increased very slightly and far more slowly than the productivity of labor. The social gains achieved by the working class in the past are gradually dwindling away. In general, the condition of the working people, especially in the underdeveloped countries, is growing worse.

During the past five or six years mankind has made great progress in the development of science and technology, particularly in the fields of atomic energy, electronics, jet propulsion and rocketry. As Lenin pointed out, the evils of capitalist production hamper the rational use of those achievements. As far back as 1913 he wrote: "Whichever way you turn, at every step you come up against problems that mankind is fully capable of solving *immediately*. Capitalism is in the way. It has amassed enormous wealth



and has turned people into the *slaves* of that wealth. It has solved the most complicated technical problems, but the application of technical improvements is hampered by the poverty and ignorance of the people, by the stupid miserliness of a handful of millionaires.

"Under capitalism, the words civilization, freedom and wealth call to mind a rich glutton who is rotting alive but will not let that which is young live on." How apt those words of Lenin's sound today!

The application of scientific and technical achievements, far from eliminating the insuperable contradictions of capitalism, makes them still more profound. Capitalist automation has only just begun, but millions of workers have already been thrown out of production. The imperialists expected to find a way out of these difficulties by militarizing the economy. Their expectations were not justified.

Militarization, of course, has brought prosperity to the branches of industry producing arms. Direct war expenditure for the past five years in the U.S.A. alone has exceeded 220,000 million dollars, and all the NATO countries together have spent over 500,000 million dollars on the arms race during the past ten years. Militarization, however, gave rise to new disproportions, had a serious effect on other branches of the economy and deprived more millions of working people of their employment. During the past five years the number of totally unemployed in the U.S.A. has rarely been less than three million. In Italy, Japan and a number of other countries, mass unemployment has acquired a permanent character. The greater the amount of money spent on war production, the more unstable becomes the capitalist economy and the more acute its

contradictions. A glaring contradiction in present-day capitalism is the increasing employment of human labor for the production of means of destruction. A social system that creates such contradictions is discrediting and outliving itself.

No wonder the American millionaire Harriman proposed abolishing the word "capitalism." "Plagiarizing from Khrushchev," he said, "we should 'bury' the word 'capitalism.'" He was forced to admit that people outside America think of the word "capitalism" as a synonym for imperialism, for exploitation of the poor by the rich, for colonialism. It is a dishonored word, and one that breeds terror. Indeed, there is no getting away from the truth! Not even the most thorough cleansing could remove the blood and filth from the sullied word. There is an apt proverb which is that "you can't make a leopard change its spots." We can only welcome the efforts of Mr. Harriman who has taken up the spade to dig a grave for the word "capitalism." But the peoples of the capitalist countries will draw a more correct conclusion and will bury not the word "capitalism" but the capitalist system with all its evils, a system that is rotten through and through.

In recent years there have been some significant changes in the alignment of forces in the capitalist world.

First, the United States of America has lost its absolute supremacy in world capitalist production and commerce. The U.S.A.'s share of the industrial output of the capitalist world dropped from 56.6 per cent in 1948 to 47 per cent in 1960, its exports from 23.4 per cent to 18.1 per cent and its gold reserves from 74.5 per cent to 43.9 per cent. The result is that the United States today occupies approxi-



mately the same position among the capitalist countries as it did before the war.

Secondly, there has been a noticeable weakening of the position of Britain and France; these states, like Belgium and Holland, are losing their colonies for ever. They have been unable to recover their pre-war position in world industry.

Thirdly, the defeated countries have made a big leap forward, especially West Germany and Japan. The share in the capitalist world industrial output of West Germany, Japan and Italy combined is now about 17 per cent, that is, greater than in 1937, on the eve of the Second World War.

West Germany has drawn level with Britain in industrial output, and as far as exports are concerned takes second place after the U.S.A. In the post-war years U.S. monopolies have invested huge sums of money in the economy of West Germany and Japan. For a number of years these two countries were actually relieved of the burden of their own war expenditure because the U.S.A. provided them with armaments at the expense of the American taxpayers. West Germany and Japan have made huge investments in the key branches of the economy to renew their constant capital and reorganize production on modern lines. As a result they are already serious rivals to Britain, France and even the United States in the world market.

The contradictions that existed between the imperialist powers before the war have reappeared and new ones have emerged. The struggle between British and West German imperialism for supremacy in Western Europe is growing fiercer. French imperialism, in its struggle against British

imperialism, is attempting to find support in yesterday's enemy, the West German monopolies. This unnatural alliance, like a marriage of convenience, is more and more frequently operating against France herself. There are profound contradictions dividing the U.S.A. and Britain and other imperialist states. They are manifested in NATO and other aggressive blocs.

It is becoming more and more obvious that the imperialist powers and their leaders fear a slackening of international tension because in a tense situation it is easier for them to form military blocs and keep the peoples in fear of an alleged threat coming from the socialist countries. The imperialists are seeking to involve all countries in the arms race, to tie up the economies of other countries with their own and direct them towards militarization. This line of action is most clearly demonstrated by U.S. policy towards West Germany and Japan. U.S. imperialists are deliberately drawing West Germany into the arms race. In the event of the outbreak of war it is to their advantage to pay for the new adventure mainly in the blood of the German people. At the same time they hope that this policy will impair the economy of West Germany and weaken her as a rival in the world market. Approximately the same policy is being pursued in respect to Japan.

In their talks the leaders of the Western Powers do not conceal that their policy is one of arming West Germany. Their argument is something like this—if West Germany does not rearm and does not spend money on armaments, she may become a still more powerful and dangerous rival. In short, there are some acute contradictions in the imperialist camp.



In their fear of the future the imperialists are trying to unite their forces and to strengthen their military, political, commercial and customs alliances. The reactionaries count on aggression against the socialist countries as a way out. In the pre-war period they placed great hopes on Hitler Germany. Today the role of the chief aggressive force belongs to the United States of America which has become the center of world reaction. The U.S. imperialists are acting in alliance with the West German militarists and reactionists and threatening the peace and security of the peoples. In our times, however, it has become dangerous for them to seek a way out of their contradictions in war.

The position of imperialism in Asia, Africa and Latin America, where the colonialists until recently oppressed hundreds of millions of people, is getting shakier. The revolutionary struggle of the peoples of those continents is rapidly gaining momentum. In the course of the past six years twenty-eight states have won political independence. The Sixties of our century will go down in history as years of the complete disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism.

It must not be forgotten, however, that although the colonial system has collapsed, its remnants have not been eliminated. Many millions of people in Asia and Africa are still suffering under colonial slavery and are struggling for their liberation. For seven years the blood of Algerian patriots has been flowing in the fight for freedom. The French monopolies do not want to end the war in Algeria although that "dirty war" against a peaceful people is costing thousands of lives and is a heavy burden on the French and Algerian peoples. Portugal, a small state with an area

no more than two-thirds of our Vologda Region, holds in bondage colonies with an area nearly twenty-five times its own size. The Dutch colonialists stubbornly refuse to return to the Indonesian people their ancient land of West Irian. The U.S.A. is maintaining its grip on the captured Chinese island of Taiwan and the Japanese island of Okinawa. Against the will of the Cuban people they are retaining their hold on the military base of Guantanamo which is on Cuban soil.

The forces of imperialism are opposing an effort on the part of the peoples to achieve liberty and independence, democracy and progress. Under pretense of various commitments, the imperialists strive to smother the national liberation movement, intervene brazenly in the internal affairs of young states by entering into deals with their reactionary forces. That was the method they used in Iran, Pakistan and the Congo and are now using in Laos and Kuwait.

Throughout this period the Soviet Union, in fulfillment of its internationalist duty, has been helping the peoples who struggled against imperialism and colonialism. There are those who do not approve of this position. But we cannot help that. Such are our convictions. Our people won freedom in a long and stubborn fight against oppression by the landlords and the capitalists and against the intervention of international imperialism. We remember well enough what that struggle cost us, we remember the sacrifices that had to be made for the sake of victory. From the bottom of our hearts we wish success to those who are struggling for their liberty and happiness against imperialism. We believe that it is the inalienable right of



peoples to put an end to foreign oppression and we shall support their just fight. Colonialism is doomed and a stake will be driven into its grave. Such is the will of the peoples, such is the course of history.

The countries that have liberated themselves from the colonial yoke have achieved certain successes in national and cultural regeneration. But economic progress in the majority of the newly-free countries of Asia and Africa is still slow. The masses of the people are still living in miserable conditions, while the wealth of their countries flows in streams of gold into the coffers of foreign banks and corporations. The U.S. monopolies are making two or three dollars profit on every dollar they spend in the underdeveloped countries. The U.S. monopolists have recently announced that they wish to allocate 500 million dollars to "aid" the Latin American countries. What is 500 million dollars among twenty countries over a period of five years? These are miserly alms that the rich man throws to those whom he has been robbing for many years. The peoples who have been plundered have the right to demand from the colonialists not aid, but the return of property stolen from them.

Today the colonialists, sensing that their rule is coming to an end, are putting on a good face in a losing game. They assert that they are leaving the colonies of their own accord. Who will believe them? Anyone can see that they are taking this step because they know that inevitably they will be driven out in disgrace. The more prudent of the colonialists are getting out, so to say, five minutes before they are given "a kick in the pants," to put it in popular language.

The colonial powers are imposing unequal treaties on the liberated countries, are locating military bases on their territories and are trying to involve them in military blocs, one of the new forms of enslavement. Almost a half of the states that have emerged as a result of the disintegration of the colonial system are shackled by burdensome, unequal treaties. In the center of this refurbished but no less disgraceful colonialism stands the United States of America. Its closest allies and at the same time its rivals are British colonialism and West German imperialism, the latter unceremoniously pushing the British and French monopolies out of Africa and the Middle East.

The countries freed from colonial oppression have entered a new phase of development. The struggle for political independence united all the national forces that suffered under the colonialists and shared common interests. Now that the time has come to eradicate the roots of imperialism and introduce agrarian and other urgent social reforms, the differences in class interests are coming more and more into the open. Broad sections of the working people and also that considerable section of the national bourgeoisie which is interested in the accomplishment of the basic tasks of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution, want to go farther in strengthening independence and implementing social and economic reforms. Within the ruling circles of those countries, however, there are forces that are afraid to go farther in their collaboration with the democratic, progressive strata of the nation. They would like to appropriate the fruits of the people's struggle and hamper the further development of the national revolution. These forces compromise with imperialism outside the country



and feudalism within, and resort to dictatorial methods.

The example of Pakistan shows what this policy leads to. That country spends two-thirds of its budget revenue for war purposes, the national industry is not developing and foreign capital rules as if it were in its own bailiwick. The sad fate of Pakistan, whose people we wish nothing but good, should set the public thinking in some other countries where influential forces are wrecking national unity and persecuting progressive leaders, especially the Communists, who have shown themselves to be the stoutest defenders of national independence.

To adopt the path of anti-communism means splitting the forces of the nation and weakening them in face of the imperialists, the colonialists.

And contrariwise—the sounder the unity of the democratic national forces, the more radical the implementation of urgent social and economic reforms, the stronger is the young state. Why did the Cuban people, for instance, rally so solidly around their government? Because the Cuban peasants obtained land and extensive material support from the government. Because the Cuban workers are working for themselves and not for the American monopolies now that industry has been nationalized. Because the small and medium producers in Cuba have been given protection against the arbitrariness of the monopolies. The Cuban people as a whole acquired broad democratic rights and liberties, the road was opened up to a better way of life, to happiness and prosperity! In the hour of danger, when the American imperialists organized the invasion of Cuba, the entire people stood like a solid wall in defense of the gains of their revolution. Under the leadership of that

courageous patriot and revolutionary, Fidel Castro, the Cubans speedily routed the American mercenaries and hurled them into the Bahía de Cochinos, which being translated means “the Bay of Swine”—the proper place for them!

Imperialist agents are more and more frequently advising the peoples of the liberated countries not to be in a hurry with their reforms. They would have the peoples of the under-developed countries believe that they cannot avoid the lengthy path travelled by the capitalist countries of Europe and America before they reached the present level of economic development. They conceal, however, that that path was a bloody and tortuous one for the peoples. They prefer to say nothing about the roads and prisons in England, France and Germany from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries being filled with vagabonds and homeless people, about the workers in those countries being forced to work from 14 to 18 hours a day even in the middle of the nineteenth century, or about the last plots of land being taken away from the English peasantry to make way for sheep pastures, so that, as was said at the time, “the sheep ate people.”

The capitalist path of development would be still longer and more arduous for the peoples of the colonies at whose expense the Western Powers achieved their own affluence. Why should this long and arduous road be imposed on peoples today, in the middle of the twentieth century? Communists believe that the age-old backwardness of peoples can be overcome through socialism. We do not, however, impose our ideas on anybody; we are firmly convinced that sooner or later all peoples will realize that there



is no other road for them to happiness and well-being.

Comrades, the increasing contradictions of imperialism confront the working class of the capitalist countries with the grave alternative of either throwing itself upon the mercy of the monopolies and continuing in a miserable plight, or fighting for its rights and its future. The workers prefer to fight, and are fighting with great tenacity.

Bourgeois prophets have announced the advent of an era of "class peace." They have claimed that the time of class struggles is a thing of the past and that Marxist theory in general is obsolete. Events have shown the utter absurdity of such prophecies. Strikes by the working people are growing in number and scale and in 1960 alone involved over 53 million people. The mass actions of the French and Italian working people, the Belgian workers' strike, the prolonged strike of American steel workers in which more than 500,000 people took part, and the strike of British engineering workers will go down indelibly in the history of the working-class movement. The Japanese proletariat, for its part, has demonstrated its militant strength on more than one occasion.

New contingents of the working class have stepped into the world arena in recent years. There are upwards of 100 million industrial and office workers in Asia, Latin America and Africa—or about 40 per cent of the wage labor employed in the non-socialist world. This young working class is asserting itself more and more as a revolutionary force.

The struggle which the working people of the capitalist countries are waging for their economic and social rights is becoming ever more acute. For today they are faced, as

a rule, not by individual employers but by powerful monopolies which, moreover, have the entire power of the state to support them. More and more often, the working people's actions assume a political character. Over 40 million people, or roughly 73 per cent of the total number of strikers, took part in political strikes in 1960. Powerful actions by the working class and the masses of the people last year brought about the fall of the governments in Japan, Italy and Belgium. The working people of France, who rallied to the working class, foiled an attempt by the militarists, the ultra reactionaries, to impose a fascist regime on that country.

The social situation that has taken shape in the major capitalist countries during the last five years has also been marked by a growing peasant movement. In France, Italy, West Germany and elsewhere, monopoly domination is ruining the peasantry, and they are participating ever more actively in the struggle against the monopolies.

The experience of recent years has provided more evidence that the working people owe all their gains to joint action. Nevertheless, the split within the working class persists because of the subversive activity of Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders, who are making frantic efforts to divert their parties, and the working class, from the struggle against capitalism. Right-wing Socialist leaders and many trade-union bosses have long since betrayed the interests of the working class and faithfully serve monopoly capital. But among the Social-Democratic rank and file, among the functionaries and even within the leadership there are many honest people who sincerely want to take part in the common struggle for working-class interests.



They have lately been putting up increasing resistance to the policy of the Right-wing leaders.

That is the reason the Communists, while continuing to lay bare the ideological bankruptcy and disruptive actions of the Right-wing Social-Democratic officials, want to cooperate with all the sound elements among the Socialists and join them in the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism. This is not a temporary tactical slogan but the general policy of the Communist movement, a policy prompted by the fundamental interests of the working class.

Progress in the working-class movement is inseparably bound up with the activity of the Communist parties. The Communist movement has entered on the highroad of creative activity. In our day the political influence of Communists makes itself felt in any country with a more or less advanced working-class movement. In the last years the close-knit family of Communists has increased by another twelve parties and the total number of Communists, by seven million.

The Communist parties are growing all over the world despite the fact that the reactionaries are conducting vicious anti-Communist campaigns. Communists are black-listed, deprived of jobs, declared "foreign agents" or imprisoned. In thirty-six capitalist countries, the Communist parties are compelled to operate deep underground. But the peoples are learning by experience that the Communists are the most loyal and reliable defenders of their interests. Communist ideas cannot be stopped by any barriers; they cannot be shot or put behind stout prison bars. They are

conquering the minds and hearts of people and are becoming an invincible force.

Of course, the Communist parties in some major capitalist countries are as yet small. But that by no means detracts from their historical role. Whatever the situation, the Communists, who are strong because they realize that theirs is a just cause, stand in the van of the working class. For example it is well known that the number of Communists in the U.S. is small. But that big capitalist power, for all its enormous military and police machinery, is afraid of the Party of Communists, and obstructs its activities in every possible way. That indicates that the small contingent of the U.S. Communists is working as befits Marxist-Leninists. Truly, a little body often harbors a great soul!

The Communists of the socialist countries never forget the difficulties and hardships falling to the lot of their brothers in the capitalist countries, who are fighting for the victory of the working class, for the cause of all working people. Today, on behalf of the delegates to this Congress, of all Soviet Communists, we send the most heartfelt fraternal greetings to our fellow-Communists in the capitalist countries, who bear aloft the victorious banner of Marxism-Leninism, to all those in the dungeons of reaction who have not bowed their heads to the enemy, to those who are fighting courageously for the interests of their peoples.

The decisions of the Twentieth Congress, backed by the fraternal parties, added to the great creative power of the Communist movement and helped restore the Leninist spirit and style to the activities of the fraternal parties and the relations between them. The meetings of Com-



munist and Workers' parties held in recent years were important milestones making the progress of the world Communist movement. International Communist meetings are one of the forms evolved by the fraternal parties to ensure their militant co-operation.

It is indisputable to Marxist-Leninists that the fundamental interests of the international Communist movement require consistent unity of action, and the Communist and Workers' parties are loyal to it. Only the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, who are plainly affected by national narrow-mindedness, have turned from the straight Marxist-Leninist road on to a winding path which has landed them in the bog of revisionism. The Yugoslav leaders responded to the 1957 Declaration of the fraternal parties, which resounded throughout the world as a charter of Communist unity and solidarity, with a revisionist anti-Leninist program, which all the Marxist-Leninist parties subjected to severe and just criticism.

Revisionist ideas pervade both the theory and practice of the leadership of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. The line they have adopted—that of development in isolation from the world socialist community—is harmful and perilous. It plays into the hands of imperialist reaction, foments nationalist tendencies and may in the end lead to the loss of socialist gains in that country, which has broken away from the friendly and united family of builders of a new world.

Our Party has criticized, and will continue to criticize, the Yugoslav leaders' revisionist concepts. As internationalists, we cannot but feel concern about the destinies of the fraternal people of Yugoslavia, who fought selflessly

against fascism and, on the achievement of victory, chose the path of socialist construction.

The historic November 1960 meeting convincingly reaffirmed the will and resolve of the Communist parties to uphold the purity of Marxism-Leninism, strengthen the unity of their ranks, and continue their determined struggle on two fronts—against revisionism, which constitutes the main danger, and against dogmatism and sectarianism. The propositions on the necessity for each party to observe decisions adopted collectively and not to permit any action likely to undermine Communist unity are of tremendous importance in bringing about greater solidity of the working-class parties.

The achievements of socialist construction in the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies are proof of the great power and vitality of Marxism-Leninism. They show mankind what can be achieved when the workers and peasants have taken their destiny into their own hands and are equipped with the most progressive revolutionary theory.

Socialism results from the creative activity of the broadest masses marching under the banner of Marxism-Leninism. Communists are opposed to the forcible, artificial implantation of any particular socio-political system in other countries. We are convinced that in the end the socialist system will triumph everywhere; but this in no way implies that we will seek to achieve its triumph by interfering in the internal affairs of other countries.

Attempts are made to blame us Communists for any action by the masses against their oppressors. Whenever the working people of a capitalist or colonial country rise to fight, the imperialists claim that it is the "handiwork of



the Communists," or "the hand of Moscow." To be sure, we are glad to have the imperialists attributing to Communists all the good actions of the peoples. By so doing the imperialists are unwittingly helping the masses to gain a better understanding of Communist ideas. These ideas are spreading throughout the world. But, of course, this is not happening because the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries impose them on the peoples. You cannot bring in ideas on bayonets, as people used to say in the past, or in rockets, as it would now be more proper to say.

Certainly, warring classes have always sought the support of kindred forces from outside. For a long time the bourgeois class had an advantage in this respect. The world bourgeoisie, acting in concert, stamped out revolutionary centers everywhere and by every means, including armed intervention. It goes without saying that even at that time the international proletariat was not indifferent to the struggle of its class brothers; but more often than not, it could express its solidarity with them only through moral support. The situation has changed since then. The people of a country who rise in struggle will not find themselves engaged in single combat with world imperialism. They will enjoy the support of powerful international forces possessing everything necessary for effective moral and material support.

The imperialists, who are alarmed by the scale of the revolutionary struggle, continue their attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of peoples and states. That is the reason they have reserved, in military pacts and agreements, the "right" to armed intervention in the event of so-called internal unrest, that is, to suppress revolutions and popular

actions against reactionary regimes. The imperialists claim at every turn that the Communists export revolution. The imperialist gentlemen need this slander in order to camouflage their claims to the right to export counter-revolution.

It is a strange logic these gentlemen have. They are apparently still under the spell of the times when they were able to strangle the liberation movement of peoples. But those times have gone, never to return. The Communists are against the export of revolution, and this is well known in the West. But we do not recognize anybody's right to export counter-revolution, to perform the functions of an international gendarme. This, too, should be well known.

Imperialist attempts to interfere in the affairs of insurgent peoples would constitute acts of aggression endangering world peace. We must state outright that in the event of imperialist export of counter-revolution the Communists will call on the peoples of all countries to rally, to mobilize their forces and, supported by the might of the world socialist system, firmly repel the enemies of freedom and peace. In other words, as ye sow, so shall ye reap.

### III. PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE IS THE GENERAL LINE IN SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY. THE PEOPLES ARE THE DECISIVE FORCE IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

Comrades, important changes have come about in the alignment of world forces in the international arena during the period under review. The world socialist system has become a reliable shield against imperialist military ven-



tures not only for the peoples of the countries that are friendly to it, but for the whole of mankind. And the fact that the socialist community of nations has a preponderance of strength is most fortunate for all mankind. The peace forces, furthermore, have grown all over the world.

A few years ago there were two opposing camps in world affairs—the socialist and imperialist camps. Today an active role in international affairs is also being played by those countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America that have freed or are freeing themselves from foreign oppression. Those countries are often called neutralist though they may be considered neutral only in the sense that they do not belong to any of the existing military-political alliances. Most of them, however, are by no means neutral when the cardinal problem of our day, that of war and peace, is at issue. As a rule, those countries advocate peace and oppose war. The countries which have won their liberty from colonialism are becoming a serious factor of peace and the struggle against colonialism and imperialism, and the basic issues of world politics can no longer be settled without due regard for their interests.

In the capitalist countries, too, the masses are taking more and more vigorous action against war. The working class and all working people are fighting against the arms race and the disastrous policy of the warmongers.

Thus the aggressive policy of the imperialist powers is now being opposed by growing forces. *The struggle which the countries of socialism and all the forces of peace are carrying on against preparation for fresh aggression and war is the main content of world politics today.*

In these past years, the forces of war and aggression

have jeopardized world peace more than once. In 1956 the imperialists organized, simultaneously with the counter-revolutionary rising in Hungary, an attack on Egypt. In the second half of 1957 the imperialists prepared an invasion of Syria that threatened a big military conflagration. In the summer of 1958, in view of the revolution in Iraq, they launched an intervention in Lebanon and Jordan and at the same time created a tense situation in the area of Taiwan, an island which belongs to the People's Republic of China. In April-May 1960 the U. S. imperialists sent their military aircraft into Soviet air space and torpedoed the Paris summit meeting. Last spring they organized an armed invasion of Cuba by mercenary bands and tried to bring Laos under their sway, to involve her in the aggressive SEATO military bloc. But all those imperialist sorties failed.

It would be a gross error, however, to imagine that the failure of aggressive schemes has brought the imperialists to their senses. The facts show just the opposite. The imperialists continue their attempts to aggravate the international situation and to lead the world to the brink of war. In recent months they have deliberately created a dangerous situation in the center of Europe by threatening to take up arms in reply to our proposal to do away with the remnants of the Second World War, conclude a German peace treaty and normalize the situation in West Berlin.

In view of the aggravation of the international situation, we were compelled to take proper steps to safeguard our country against the encroachments of aggressors and save mankind from the threat of a new world war. The Soviet



Government was compelled to suspend the reduction of the armed forces planned for 1961, increase defense expenditure, postpone the transfer of servicemen to the reserve and resume tests of new and more powerful weapons. We were compelled to adopt these measures; they were unanimously supported by our people and correctly understood by the peoples of other countries, who know that the Soviet Union will never start a war. The Soviet people are only too familiar with the ways of aggressors. We have not forgotten the years of the Great Patriotic War, we remember Hitler Germany's treacherous, wanton attack on the Soviet Union. In the presence of the war menace created by the imperialists, there is no room for complacency and carelessness.

Some people in the West assert that the measures taken by the Soviet Government to strengthen the country's defenses mean renunciation of the policy of peaceful coexistence. That, of course, is nonsense. The policy of peaceful coexistence follows from the very nature of our system.

I should like to recall the following fact. When our country was beating back the furious attacks of the Whites and foreign interventionists, the Soviet Government was discussing the question of the Soviet coat of arms. The first sketch contained a sword. Lenin raised a sharp objection. "Why the sword?" he said. "We need no conquest. The policy of conquest is utterly alien to us; we are not attacking but repulsing domestic and foreign enemies; ours is a defensive war and the sword is not our emblem." As everyone knows, the Hammer and Sickle, symbols of peaceful, constructive labor, have become the emblem of our country.

The principles of peaceful coexistence, laid down by Lenin and developed in our Party documents, have always been the central feature of Soviet foreign policy. The Soviet Government's foreign policy is convincing evidence of the fidelity of the Party and the Soviet people, as a whole to the peaceful course charted by Lenin.

But it is hard to remove the war menace by unilateral action, in the same way as it is hard to put out a fire if one person pours water upon it while another pours oil. The Western Powers, who should be interested in avoiding thermo-nuclear disaster no less than we are, must, for their part, show readiness to seek ways of settling disputed issues on a mutually acceptable basis.

Certain pacifist-minded people in the West are ingenious enough to believe that if the Soviet Union made more concessions to the Western Powers, there would be no aggravation of international tension. They forget that the policy of the imperialist powers, including their foreign policy, is determined by the class interests of monopoly capital, in which aggression and war are inherent. When, under the pressure of the masses, the partisans of a more or less moderate policy gain the upper hand, there occurs an international détente and the clouds of war are dispelled to some extent. But when the pressure of the masses slackens and the scales tip in favor of those groupings of the bourgeoisie that capitalize on the arms race and see war as an additional source of profit, the international situation deteriorates.

Hence the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems can be maintained and safeguarded only through the unrelenting struggle of all peoples against



the aggressive aspirations of the imperialists. The greater the might of the socialist camp and the more vigorously the struggle for peace is waged within the capitalist countries, the more difficult it is for the imperialists to carry out their plans of aggression.

Peace and peaceful coexistence are not quite the same thing. Peaceful coexistence does not merely imply absence of war; it is not a temporary, unstable armistice between two wars but the coexistence of two opposed social systems, based on mutual renunciation of war as a means of settling disputes between states.

Historical experience shows that an aggressor cannot be placated by concessions. Concessions to the imperialists on matters of vital importance do not constitute a policy of peaceful coexistence but surrender to the forces of aggression. That we will never accede to. It is high time the imperialists understood that it is no longer they who are the arbiters of mankind's fate, and that socialism will exist, develop and gain strength whether they like it or not. But for the time being the imperialist gentry do not seem to have understood this. One may well expect of them foolhardy actions that would spell disaster for hundreds of millions of people. That is why we must curb the aggressors and not aid and abet them.

The supporters of peace in many countries, who have joined in various unions and movements, have made an important contribution to the struggle against the forces of aggression and war. Everyone will remember how, in the early fifties, hundreds of millions of people called for a ban on atomic weapons and how indignantly the peoples of Europe protested against the establishment of the no-

torious European Defense Community and West Germany's participation in it. The pressure which the people exerted on parliaments and governments produced a powerful effect.

The work being done by peace supporters is particularly important now that the danger of a new war has increased. In the present situation, men of goodwill can no longer confine themselves to mere utterances in favor of peace. It should be evident that despite the numerous actions of the general public in defense of peace, the forces of aggression and war are becoming ever more brazen. Indeed, a few years ago no Western politician would have made bold, without risking his career, to hint about rearming the Bundeswehr. But now the militarization of West Germany is going full blast, and the Bundeswehr has become the biggest armed force in Western Europe. Strauss, West German War Minister, cynically boasts that the Federal Republic of Germany is not merely a member of NATO, but has the upper hand there. Moreover, something unheard of has happened: the governments of Britain and France, that is, of countries which in the past suffered from German militarism, have granted the Bundeswehr proving grounds and barracks on their territories and have placed their armed forces under the command of former Hitler generals. As a result, Bundeswehr soldiers are trampling British soil, which in two world wars they were unable to reach by armed force.

We share the bitterness and indignation of French and British patriots, who see West German revenge-seekers marching across their homeland.

It is said that even a gale of words won't make a wind-



mill turn. Still less will talk of peace stop the aggressors' war machine. It is necessary to act resolutely and vigorously to stay the criminal hand of the warmongers in good time, before it is too late. Obviously, the struggle for peace, like any struggle, requires sustained effort and perseverance. When fighting one not only delivers but also receives blows. But is that something to be afraid of at a time when the fate of mankind is at stake? *It must be realized that it depends on all the people themselves, on their resolve and vigorous action, whether there is to be peace on earth or whether mankind will be hurled into the catastrophe of a new world war.* It is necessary to heighten the vigilance of the peoples with regard to the intrigues of imperialist warmongers. Vigorous anti-war action by the peoples must not be put off till the war starts; such action must be launched immediately and not when nuclear and thermo-nuclear bombs begin to fall.

The strength of the peace movement lies in its mass scope, its organization and resolute actions. All the peoples and all sections of society, with the exception of a handful of monopolists, want peace. And the people must insist that a peace policy be pursued and must use all forms of struggle to achieve that end. The peoples can and must render harmless those who are obsessed with the insane ideas of militarism and war. It is the peoples who are the decisive force in the struggle for peace.

#### IV. SEEK THE SETTLEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS BY PEACEFUL MEANS. EXPOSE THE INTRIGUES AND MANEUVERS OF THE WARMONGERS. IMPROVE RELATIONS BETWEEN COUNTRIES

Comrades, the situation calls for the settling of fundamental international problems without delay, in keeping with the principles of peaceful coexistence. Following the Twentieth Congress the Soviet Union advanced an extensive and realistic program of action that would ensure the maintenance and consolidation of universal peace. The purpose of that program is, in a nutshell, to deliver mankind from the dangerous and burdensome arms race, do away with the remnants of the Second World War and remove all obstacles to a healthier international climate.

*The struggle for general and complete disarmament* is a major component of the foreign policy of our Party. The Soviet Union has persevered in this struggle for many years. We have always resolutely opposed the arms race, for in the past competition in this field not only imposed a heavy burden on the peoples but inevitably led to world wars. We are opposed to the arms race still more firmly now that a tremendous technical revolution has taken place in warfare and the use of modern weapons would inevitably lead to hundreds of millions of people losing their lives. The stockpiling of these weapons, which is taking place in an atmosphere of cold war and war hysteria, is fraught



with disastrous consequences. It would only need an addebrained officer on duty at a "button" somewhere in the West to lose his nerve for events to occur that will bring great misfortune to the peoples of the whole world.

It should be plain that the idea of our program for general and complete disarmament is not the unilateral disarmament of socialism in the face of imperialism or the other way round, but a universal renunciation of arms as a means of settling controversial international problems. As they do not dare to say they are against disarmament, the ruling circles of the capitalist countries, primarily of the United States, Britain and France, have invented the tale that the Soviet Union is against control over disarmament. We declared that we were prepared in advance to accept any proposals for the most rigid international control they might make, provided they accepted our proposals for general and complete disarmament.

To mislead people, the imperialists are hypocritically raising a racket over the fact that we were compelled to carry out experimental blasts of nuclear weapons. But the racket did not prevent the peoples from seeing that we had taken this step only because the Western Powers, after bringing the solution of the disarmament problem and negotiations on nuclear weapons tests to a dead end, had set the flywheel of their war machine turning at top speed to achieve superiority in strength over the socialist countries. We forestalled them and thus retained the superior position of the socialist camp, which is defending peace.

We were forced to take these measures. It was known that the United States had for a long time been preparing to resume tests, and as for France, she had carried them

out repeatedly. In the present conditions, the necessity for the peoples' struggle to get rid of the arms race is all the more obvious. The disarmament problem affects the vital interests of every nation and of mankind as a whole. When it has been solved there will be no more need for nuclear weapons and hence for their manufacture and testing.

*The elimination of the remnants of the Second World War* is of tremendous importance for the maintenance and strengthening of peace. The fact that a peaceful settlement with Germany has still not been effected sixteen years after the defeat of the Hitler invaders is something that cannot be tolerated. The Western Powers, headed by the U.S.A., are alone to blame for this unpardonable delay. In complete disregard of the interests of the peoples, they set out to revive German militarism as soon as the war was over.

The absence of a peace treaty has already played into the hands of the Bonn revanchists. With the help from the U.S. imperialists, they have re-established their armed forces with an eye to further aggression. It is the West German militarists' cherished dream to profit by the unstable situation in Europe to set their former enemies—the powers of the anti-Hitler coalition—against each other. They dream of absorbing the German Democratic Republic, enslaving other neighboring countries and taking revenge for the defeat they sustained in the Second World War.

We have always held that a peace treaty would make permanent the German frontiers defined in the Potsdam agreement, tie the hands of revanchists and discourage them from adventures. The socialist countries have waited long enough for a treaty to be signed, in the hope that common



sense would gain the upper hand in Washington, London and Paris. We are still ready to negotiate with the Western Powers mutually acceptable and agreed solutions.

Recently, while attending the U.N. General Assembly, Comrade Gromyko, the Soviet Foreign Minister, had conversations with the Secretary of State and the President of the United States. He also had talks with the Foreign Secretary and the Prime Minister of Britain. We gained the impression from those conversations that the Western Powers are showing some understanding of the situation and are inclined to seek a solution to the German problem, and to the issue of West Berlin, on a mutually acceptable basis.

But there is something strange about the Western countries, above all the U. S. A. In those countries one thing is said in the course of talks between statesmen and another reported by the press, although it is plain that the press is informed on the tenor of the talks. The Western press presents the issue of a German peace treaty in an unreasonable, unrealistic vein. It makes the accusation, for example, that someone wants, in settling the German problem, to take the orchard and give an apple in exchange. Perhaps those who say so like this figure of speech. But in this particular instance the figure does not do justice to the real state of affairs.

Everyone knows that the Soviet Government proposes signing a German peace treaty. Peace treaties are concluded to clear the way, as much as possible, to normal relations between countries, to avert the threat of a new war and ease international tension.

We proceed from the actual situation which has arisen since Hitler Germany was defeated, and from the existence

of the two German states and the post-war frontiers. Any war, however trying and cruel, must end in the signing of a peace treaty. One has to render accounts and to pay for aggression, for starting wars. That being so, where does the orchard or the apple come in?

Some Western politicians offer us would-be good advice by declaring that the signing of a peace treaty would endanger the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. What are we to make of that? Since when have wars been considered to endanger one side only? The times when the imperialist powers dominated have gone forever. The Soviet Union today is a mighty socialist power. The great socialist community, which possesses developed industry and agriculture and advanced science and technology, is making good progress.

I think that the imperialist circles will guess that, since we do have such advanced industry and agriculture, the armaments of our Soviet Army naturally conform to the latest standards.

We consider that at present the forces of socialism, and all the forces championing peace, are superior to the forces of imperialist aggression. But even granting that the U. S. President was right in saying a short time ago that our forces were equal, it would be obviously unwise to threaten war. One who admits that there is equality should draw the proper conclusions. It is dangerous in our time to pursue a policy from a position of strength.

A German peace treaty must and will be signed, with the Western Powers or without them.

The treaty will also normalize the situation in West Berlin by making it a free demilitarized city. The Western



countries and all the other countries of the world must enjoy the right of access to West Berlin in keeping with international law, that is, must reach an appropriate agreement with the Government of the German Democratic Republic, since all communications between West Berlin and the outside world pass through her territory.

Certain spokesmen of the Western Powers say that our proposals for the conclusion of a German peace treaty this year constitute an ultimatum. But they are wrong, for it was as far back as 1958 that the Soviet Union proposed concluding a peace treaty and settling the issue of West Berlin on that basis by transforming it into a free city. A long time has passed since then. We did not rush the settlement of the issue, hoping to reach mutual understanding with the Western Powers. It is fair to ask, therefore, why this talk about an ultimatum. In proposing the conclusion of a German peace treaty, the Soviet Union presented no ultimatum, but was prompted by the necessity to have this pressing issue settled at last.

The Soviet Government insists, now as before, on the earliest possible solution of the German problem; it is against that problem being shelved indefinitely. If the Western Powers show readiness to settle the German problem, the issue of a time limit for the signing of a German peace treaty will no longer be so important; in that case, we shall not absolutely insist on signing a peace treaty before December 31, 1961. The important thing is to settle the matter—to eliminate the remnants of the Second World War by signing a German peace treaty. That is the fundamental issue, the crux of the matter.

The solution of these problems will pave the way to

further steps in the sphere of peaceful co-operation, both multilateral and bilateral, between states. What else has to be done for the further strengthening of peace, in addition to the conclusion of a German peace treaty?

The problem of a considerable improvement of the United Nations machinery has long been awaiting solution. That machinery has grown rusty in the cold war years and has been operating fitfully. The time has come to clean it, to remove the crust that has formed on it, to put fresh power into it, with due regard to the changes that have occurred in the international situation in recent years. It is high time to restore the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the U.N. The time has come for a decision on the question of the German people's representation in the United Nations. As matters stand now, the most reasonable solution would be to conclude a peace treaty with both German states, whose existence is a reality, and to admit them into the U.N. It is time to grant genuinely equal rights in all U.N. agencies to the three groups of states that have come into being in the world—socialist, neutralist and imperialist. It is time to call a halt to attempts to use the U.N. in the interests of the military alignment of the Western Powers.

*The problem of the full abolition of colonial tyranny in all its forms and manifestations* must be solved in accordance with the vital interests of the peoples. At the same time real and not verbal aid must be rendered to the peoples, and the consequences of colonialism must be remedied. They must be helped to reach, as speedily as possible, the level of the economically and culturally developed countries. We see the way to achieve that goal



first of all in making the colonial powers restore to their victims at least part of their loot. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries are already rendering the peoples disinterested, friendly support and assistance in the economic and cultural fields. We shall continue to help them.

*The solution of pressing regional political problems* could play a fairly important part in achieving a healthier international atmosphere. We attach great importance to the problem of establishing atom-free zones, first of all in Europe and the Far East. A non-aggression pact between the countries in the Warsaw Treaty Organization and those in the North Atlantic military bloc could go a long way towards promoting security. An agreement could also be reached on the establishment of zones dividing the armed forces of military alignments, and a start could be made to reduce the armed forces stationed on foreign soil. And if the countries in military blocs were to come to the reasonable conclusion that all military alliances must be disbanded and armed forces withdrawn to within their national boundaries, it would be the best, the most radical, solution of the problem.

In short, given mutual desire, many useful steps could be taken that would help the nations reduce the war danger and then remove it altogether.

We see a way to a better international situation in *more extensive business relations with all countries*.

Our relations with the socialist countries have been, and will continue to be, relations of lasting fraternal friendship and co-operation. We shall expand and improve mutually beneficial economic and cultural ties with them on the basis of agreed long-term plans. Such co-operation will

enable us all to proceed even faster along the road of socialism and communism.

Our people derive deep satisfaction from our expanding co-operation with the great Asian powers of India and Indonesia. We rejoice in their successes and realize their difficulties, and we readily expand business cooperation which helps them promote their economy and culture. Successfully developing on similar lines are our relations with Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, the United Arab Republic, Iraq, Guinea, Ghana, Mali, Morocco, Tunisia, Somali and other Asian and African countries that have freed themselves from foreign tyranny.

We will develop business relations with the Syrian Arab Republic.

After long and painful trials a government which declared itself to be successor to the Patrice Lumumba Government was set up in the Congo. The Soviet Government is prepared to help the Congolese people solve the difficult problems facing them in the struggle to overcome the consequences of colonial oppression.

Our relations with Latin American countries have likewise made progress in the period under review, despite the artificial barriers raised by internal reaction and U. S. imperialists. The heroic people of Cuba, who have broken down those barriers, are establishing co-operation on an equal footing with other countries. And even though the U. S. imperialists stop at nothing—not even at overthrowing lawful governments—as long as they can prevent Latin American countries from pursuing an independent policy, events will nevertheless take their own course.

We shall continue assisting newly-independent nations



to get on to their feet, grow strong and take up a fitting place in international affairs. Those nations are making a valuable contribution to the great cause of peace and progress. In this the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries will always be their true and reliable friends.

We attach great importance to relations with the major capitalist countries, first and foremost the United States. U. S. foreign policy in recent years has invariably concentrated on aggravating the international situation. This is deplored by all peace-loving peoples. As for the Soviet Union, it has always held that the only way to prevent a world war of extermination is to normalize relations between states irrespective of their social system. That being so, there is a need for joint efforts to achieve this. No one expects the ruling circles of the United States to fall in love with socialism, nor must they expect us to fall in love with capitalism. The important thing is for them to renounce the idea of settling disputes through war and to base international relations on the principle of peaceful economic competition. If realistic thinking gains the upper hand in U.S. policy, a serious obstacle to a normal world situation will be removed. Such thinking will benefit not only the peoples of our two countries but those of other countries, and will help world peace.

We propose to expand and promote normal, business-like economic and cultural relations with Britain, France, Italy, West Germany and other West European countries. Some progress has been achieved in this respect in recent years, and it is up to the other side to improve the situation.

The Soviet Union pays special attention to the promotion of relations with its neighbors. Differences in social

and political systems are no hindrance to the development of friendly, mutually advantageous relations between the U. S. S. R. and such countries as Afghanistan or Finland. Our relations with Austria and Sweden are progressing fairly well. We have sought and will continue to seek, better relations with Norway and Denmark. Relations with our Turkish neighbor have been improving lately. We should like them to go on improving.

The Soviet Union would also like to live in peace and friendship with such of its neighbors as Iran, Pakistan and Japan. Unfortunately, the ruling circles of those countries have so far been unable, or unwilling, to disentangle themselves from the military blocs imposed on them by the Western Powers, nor have they been using the opportunities for business co-operation with our country. Their governments' present policies imperil their peoples. Outstanding in this respect is the Shah of Iran, who has gone to the point of agreeing to turn almost half the country into a zone of death in the interests of the aggressive CENTO bloc.

The Soviet Union has exerted considerable effort to improve its relations with Japan. But the government of that country, which is bound to the United States by an unequal military treaty, still refuses to eliminate the remnants of the Second World War. The absence of a Soviet-Japanese peace treaty seriously handicaps wider co-operation between our two countries. The Japanese people are becoming increasingly aware of the great loss Japan is incurring as a result. We hope that common sense will win sooner or later and that our relations with Japan will make proper progress to the benefit of both countries.



The role of *economic ties* as an important element of peaceful coexistence is growing. In the period under survey, Soviet foreign trade has almost doubled in volume. We have stable commercial relations with more than eighty countries. But a great deal more could be achieved in this field if the Western Powers stopped their obstructionist practices and frequent arbitrary actions, which damage business co-operation with the socialist countries. Incidentally, these outmoded practices do more harm to them than to us. Whoever resorts to discrimination, trade barriers and even blockades inevitably exposes himself as a proponent of war preparations and an enemy of peaceful coexistence.

Our country's *cultural relations* have expanded considerably in recent years and we now maintain such relations with more than a hundred countries. Over 700,000 Soviet people go abroad every year, and over 700,000 foreigners visit our country. We are willing to continue these mutually beneficial international contacts on a large scale. They can and must play a role in promoting co-operation and understanding among people.

Contacts with the leaders of other countries have become an important factor in Soviet foreign policy. It will be recalled that, despite pressure of business, Lenin, who guided the foreign policy of the Soviet state, received and had talks with American, British, French, Finnish, Afghan, and other foreign personalities. It was his intention to attend the 1922 Genoa Conference. The Central Committee of the Party has regarded it as its duty to follow this Leninist tradition. In pursuing an active foreign policy, members of the Presidium of the Central Committee have often visited countries of the socialist community. They have

paid sixty-five visits to twenty-seven non-socialist countries. I have had to travel far and wide myself. It cannot be helped—such is the need.

We have received many distinguished foreign guests, including the heads of state or government of European, Asian, African and Latin American countries. Party and government leaders of the socialist countries have been frequent and welcome visitors to our country. We are prepared to continue meetings both with one or several heads of state or government.

Comrades, events have shown that the foreign policy of our Party, elaborated by the Twentieth Congress, is correct. We have achieved major victories by pursuing that policy. While our strength has increased very appreciably, we shall persevere in our Leninist policy in an effort to bring about the triumph of the idea of peaceful coexistence. *There is now a prospect of achieving peaceful coexistence for the entire period in which the social and political problems now dividing the world will have to be solved.* The indications are that it may actually be feasible to banish world war from the life of society even before the complete triumph of socialism on earth, with capitalism surviving in part of the world.

Lenin taught us to be firm, unyielding and uncompromising whenever a fundamental question of principle is involved. In the most trying conditions, at a time when the only socialist state had to resist the attacks of the whole capitalist world, when the enemy assaulted us at the front, in the rear and from the flanks, Lenin spoke with the imperialists in firm, resolute terms, while following a flexible course and always retaining the initiative.



What are the tasks which the present international situation raises for Soviet foreign policy?

We must continue:

adhering steadily to the principle of the peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems as a general line of the Soviet Union's foreign policy;

strengthening the unity of the socialist countries through fraternal co-operation and mutual assistance, and contributing to the might of the world socialist system;

promoting contacts and co-operating with all who champion world peace. Together with those who want peace we must oppose those who want war;

strengthening proletarian solidarity with the working class and all working people of the world, and rendering the fullest moral and material support to the peoples fighting to free themselves from imperialist and colonial oppression or to consolidate their independence;

vigorously extending business ties, economic co-operation and trade with all countries that are willing to maintain such relations with the Soviet Union;

pursuing an active and flexible foreign policy. We must seek the settlement of pressing world problems through negotiations, expose the intrigues and manoeuvres of the warmongers, and establish business co-operation with all countries on a reciprocal basis.

Experience has proved that the principle of the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems, a principle advanced by the great Lenin, is the way to preserve peace and avert a world war of extermination. We have been doing, and will do, all in our power for peaceful coexistence and peaceful economic competition to triumph throughout the world.

## *Part Two*

### THE SOVIET UNION ENTERS THE PERIOD OF FULL-SCALE COMMUNIST CONSTRUCTION

Comrades, the chief feature determining the activities of our Party since the Twentieth Congress has been the effort to carry out the basic tasks of the period of full-scale communist construction—the creation of the material and technical basis of communism, the further consolidation of the economic might of the Soviet Union, the communist education of the working people, and the satisfaction of the growing material and spiritual requirements of the people to an ever greater degree.

The Central Committee is glad to be able to report to the Congress that all branches of the economy are developing at accelerated rates. The living standards of the people are steadily rising. Soviet science and culture have reached new heights of development. The Seven-Year Plan is being implemented successfully. Our country has made a great advance towards the fulfilment of the basic economic task—to overtake and outstrip the more highly-developed capi-



talist countries in production per head of population. And, it must be said, the population of the Soviet Union has grown considerably. At the time of the Twentieth Congress it was less than 200 million whereas it had grown to 220 million by the time of the Twenty-Second Congress. A satisfactory increase, comrades.

We have adopted a rapid pace in the development of our economy and are marching with confidence along the path indicated by Lenin, scaling one height after another. We are drawing nearer and nearer to our goal, and can now see distinctly the bright peak on which the Soviet people will in the near future plant the banner of communism.

# I. THE STRUGGLE TO BUILD UP THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC MIGHT. THE SEVEN-YEAR PLAN, AN IMPORTANT STAGE IN THE CREATION OF THE MATERIAL AND TECHNICAL BASIS OF COMMUNISM

In creating the material and technical basis of communism, heavy industry has a decisive role to play as the foundation of the entire economy. Permit me to quote some figures on the growth of industrial output since the Twentieth Congress. The figures I quote will include the preliminary returns for 1961. Although 1961 has not yet come to an end we may already say that planned targets will be exceeded for many important items.

The increase in industrial output for the six years will be almost 80 per cent. Here are the figures for the leading items:

|   | Produced<br>in 1955 | Expected<br>Output<br>for 1961 | 1961 Output<br>as % of<br>1955 |
|---|---------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Pig iron (000,000 tons)   | 33.3                | 51.1                           | 153                            |
| Steel (000,000 tons)  | 45.3                | 71.0                           | 157                            |
| Rolled Goods<br>(000,000 tons)  | 35.3                | 55.0                           | 156                            |
| Coal (000,000 tons)   | 391                 | 513                            | 131                            |
| Oil (000,000 tons)  | 70.8                | 166                            | 234                            |
| Gas<br>(000,000,000 cu.m.)  | 10.4                | 59.5                           | 575                            |
| Electricity<br>(000,000,000 kwh)  | 170                 | 327                            | 192                            |
| Chemical industry<br>output<br>(000,000,000 rubles)                                   | 3.7                 | 7.5                            | 205                            |
| Output of<br>machine-building and<br>metal-working industries<br>(000,000,000 rubles) | 17                  | 38                             | 224                            |
| Cement (000,000 tons)   | 22.5                | 51                             | 226                            |

Worthy of special mention are the achievements of the leading branches of heavy industry. In six years the amount of steel smelted has increased by 26 million tons, more than Britain's annual output. The extraction of oil has increased by 95 million tons, which is the equivalent to establishing five new Baku oilfields. The output of electric power has increased by 157,000 million kwh, which is the same as fifty additional stations the size of the Lenin Power Station on the Dnieper.

With modern heavy industry as the basis, all branches



of the economy are making rapid progress; light industry and the food industry are developing well. The Party is paying particular attention to greater output of foodstuffs, clothing, footwear—of everything man needs—to raise the living standard of the people.

Here are some figures showing how the output of consumer goods has increased:

|  | Produced<br>in<br>1955 | Expected<br>Output<br>for 1961 | 1961 Output<br>as % of<br>1955 |
|--|------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Meat, industrially<br>processed (000,000 tons) | 2.5                    | 4.5                            | 178                            |
| Butter, factory-made<br>(000 tons)             | 463                    | 794                            | 171                            |
| Whole-milk products<br>(000,000 tons)          | 2.6                    | 9.0                            | 345                            |
| Vegetable fats (000 tons)                      | 1,168                  | 1,730                          | 148                            |
| Granulated beet sugar<br>(000,000 tons)        | 3.2                    | 6.5                            | 200                            |
| Fish<br>(catch—000,000 tons)                   | 2.7                    | 3.7                            | 136                            |
| Clothing and underwear<br>(000,000,000 rubles) | 6.0                    | 9.2                            | 152                            |
| Leather footwear<br>(000,000 pairs)            | 271                    | 443                            | 163                            |
| Textiles (000,000 sq.m.)                       | 5,543                  | 6,661                          | 120                            |
| Woolen textiles<br>(000,000 sq.m.)             | 321                    | 452                            | 141                            |
| Radio and TV receivers<br>(000)                | 4,044                  | 6,345                          | 157                            |
| Domestic refrigerators<br>(000)                | 151                    | 731                            | 380                            |
| Furniture (000,000 rubles)                     | 491                    | 1,280                          | 261                            |

You can see from this that the output of consumer goods is growing at a higher rate than in the recent past. We can now increase the output of these goods year by year. In only three years of the Seven-Year Plan over 1,000 million meters of textiles and about 70 million pairs of boots and shoes have been produced above plan. The requirements of the Soviet people, however, must be met more fully. The Government is additionally allocating for the remaining period of the Seven-Year Plan about 2,500 million rubles for the development of the textile and footwear industries and those supplying them with raw materials. *By the end of the seven-year period our industry will be producing over 9,000 million square meters of textiles a year; the annual output of footwear will be almost three pairs per head of population.* The Soviet Union's output of these items will greatly exceed that of Britain, France and West Germany combined.

It will, of course, be necessary to extend the area planted to cotton and increase its per-hectare yield. That is a problem that will undoubtedly be solved. After the Nurek Power Station is completed 1.2 million hectares of irrigated land in Tajikistan and Uzbekistan will be put under cultivation and planted to the most valuable, long-staple varieties of cotton. The output of cotton will be further increased with the cultivation of the Hungry Steppe in Uzbekistan. However, the completion of the program for the building of plants manufacturing artificial and synthetic fibers will ensure the most reliable supply of raw materials for our textile industry.

Our plans are designed for peaceful construction. The Party is working to promote the economic might of the



country, and never forgets the need to strengthen its defenses. We have established industries producing high-precision instruments, the means of automation, special metals, atomic and electronic equipment, and rockets; we have jet aircraft and a modern ship-building industry. These branches have made a name for themselves, not only on earth, but in outer space as well. They are reliable in their service to the cause of peace, to defense. We now have at our disposal intercontinental ballistic missiles, anti-aircraft rocket equipment, and rockets for the land, naval and air forces.

Reports have been published in the press about the testing of our new rockets with a range of 12 odd thousand kilometers. Our ships lie at anchor in the target area to record the time and the accuracy with which the rocket hits the prescribed area. We have been informed that our rockets are displaying an exceptional degree of accuracy.

I ought to say that there are also American ships in the same area which also keep track of how the Soviet rockets fly. The Americans publish the appropriate information about the flights of our rockets and we verify it with our own. Of course, we put our faith in the comrades who are on our ships. However, here you have something like dual control, from our side and from that of the opponent.

Our opponents—true, we wouldn't like them to be our opponents but, after all, we have to reckon with imperialism's nature—also say that the Soviet rockets are hitting the target. That's fine. We had no doubts about it.

Now since I have digressed, I'd like to note that we're also having very successful tests of new nuclear weapons. We shall soon complete these tests. I suppose that will be

at the end of the month. It's most likely that to wind up the series we shall detonate an H-bomb with an explosive power of 50 million tons of TNT. We said that we had a bomb with an explosive power of 100 million tons of TNT. That's quite true. But we shan't explode it because if we do, and even if we do that in the most faraway places, our window panes might fly out. That's why we shall refrain as yet and not detonate this bomb. However, by detonating a bomb with an explosive power of 50 million tons of TNT we shall thereby be able to try out the arrangement also for exploding the bigger bomb.

But, as they used to say, God save us from ever exploding these bombs over any territory, no matter whose it may be. That is the most desired dream of our life!

I can see present here the comrades who made our wonderful rockets, the motors for them and the accurate instruments. I can also see those who are working to perfect nuclear weapons. We are proud of these comrades and give them their due; we rejoice at their creative achievements which are helping to strengthen our country's defensive might, to consolidate world peace.

We are successfully building up a Soviet submarine fleet. Our opponents are building a submarine fleet equipped with ballistic missiles. We are also arming our fleet with both ballistic and self-aiming rockets. It's the situation that is making us do that. Our opponents in military blocs are preparing to fire from submarines at the territory of both our country and the socialist countries. We are prepared to retaliate, striking at targets both by land and sea. The Soviet Union is a continental power. People who would like to start a war against us will have to cover



spaces of water. That is why we are building up a powerful submarine fleet equipped also with self-aiming rockets so as to sink hundreds of kilometers away in the ocean ships that approach the frontiers of the socialist countries.

The Soviet nuclear-driven submarine fleet, which is armed with ballistic and self-aiming rockets, vigilantly stands on guard of our socialist gains. It will retaliate with a crushing blow at the aggressors and strike too at their aircraft carriers, which in the event of war will present a pretty good target for our rockets fired from submarines.

*Permit me to report to the Congress that the re-equipment of the Soviet Army with nuclear and rocket weapons has been completed.* Our armed forces are now equipped with weapons powerful enough to enable us to crush any aggressor. While providing our armed forces with rockets and building an atomic submarine fleet, we have not neglected our air force but have continued to develop and perfect it.

Permit me, on behalf of the Congress, to express heartfelt thanks to the scientists, engineers and workers who have produced for the Soviet Army the most up-to-date weapons. They have done all mankind a great service! The imperialists cannot now with impunity intimidate the peaceful countries by threats of war; atomic and hydrogen weapons in the hands of the Soviet people, the builders of communism, do reliable service to the cause of peace.

The Soviet people do not need war; their minds are turned to the development of the peacetime economy, to the implementation of the great plans for communist construction, to the creation of an abundance of material and spiritual values for all working people.

Important *qualitative changes* have taken place in industry, building and transport since the Twentieth Congress: a huge amount of work has been done to re-equip technically all branches of material production. Thousands of new types of machines, machine-tools, apparatus, measuring instruments and equipment for automation have been designed. The structure of the country's fuel supply has been radically improved. Oil and gas accounted for 23.5 per cent of the fuel output in 1955 and today the percentage has increased to 42. An economy of over 3,000 million rubles has been effected in the six years by the use of cheaper fuels.

The electric power industry has been provided with a new technical basis. Steam and hydropower turbines of 200,000-225,000 kw capacity are being built. Turbines up to 500,000 kw capacity are being designed. The world's biggest power grids have been organized and 500,000-volt transmission lines have been built. Power consumption per industrial worker has increased by about 40 per cent.

The chemical industry is employing natural and petroleum gas as raw material on an ever-growing scale. This has enabled us to considerably reduce production costs and economize a large quantity of unprocessed foodstuffs. Thanks to the fact that raw materials are used for the production of alcohol, this year alone over 2,100,000 tons of grain have been economized. The output of plastics and artificial fibers has been more than doubled in the six years.

A great deal has been done to effect the technical reconstruction of all types of transport, the carrying capacity of which has increased by 72 per cent. More than ten thousand kilometers of railway have been electrified. Half of all



our trains now use electric and diesel traction; this has provided an economy of about 2,500 million rubles in the period under review. Vessels sailing under the Soviet flag call at ports of more than sixty countries in all continents. The tonnage of the merchant fleet has increased by about 50 per cent. The civil air fleet, equipped with giant airliners, carries about 100,000 passengers a day. The centralized shipment of goods by road, effected by special motor-transport agencies, has increased six times over.

The industry manufacturing prefabricated concrete elements, which now produces almost 40 million cubic meters as compared to 5.3 million in 1955, has been built up almost from scratch. In recent years radical changes have come about in building techniques. Large-panel building is making rapid progress. The day is not far off when building will be completely transferred to industrial methods and re-equipped with modern facilities. Such are the more prominent features of progress in industry, transport and building in the period under survey.

*In the period between 1956 and 1961 state investments in the economy amounted to 156,000 million rubles. That sum is larger than the total investments in the entire Soviet period up to the Twentieth Congress of the Party! About six thousand large-scale enterprises have gone into production, among them such giants on the Volga as the hydro-electric power station named after Lenin and another after the Twenty-Second Party Congress, the Karaganda and Kuibyshev steel works, huge ore-dressing plants in the Ukraine, Kazakhstan and in the Kursk ironfield, and numerous engineering, chemical, sugar and textile factories. Over 30,000 kilometers of gas and oil pipeline*

have been laid. The builders of the Bratsk Power Station, which will be the world's largest, have a fine achievement to record—they have erected the first 25,000 kw unit ahead of schedule.

The builders of the hydro-electric power station at Kremenchug have made a fine gift to the Congress—they have completed the construction of the third power station in the Dnieper chain much earlier than scheduled. The commissioning of this power station will increase the stable, guaranteed capacity of the Dnieper Power Station by twenty per cent and greatly improve navigation on the Dnieper. A number of new towns have sprung up lately—Slavropol on the Volga, Volzhsky, Temir-Tau, Rudny, Bratsk and many others.

The years under review have seen a rapid growth of *labor productivity*. In 1961 the 1955 level will be exceeded by 43 per cent in industry, 60 per cent in building and 56 per cent on the railways. Almost 70 percent of the growth in industrial output has been obtained thanks to greater labor productivity. Production costs have been reduced by about 11 per cent and railway transport costs by 22 per cent. Industry and transport last year yielded profits that were double those of 1955.

*All Union Republics* have recorded important achievements in the development of their economy and culture. Industrial output and investments have increased by fifty to over a hundred per cent as compared with 1955 in all republics.

The Party's policy to develop the productive forces of *the eastern areas of the country* has been consistently implemented. Big power stations are being built to utilize the



rich energy resources of Siberian rivers, and of cheap coal. Huge iron ore deposits in Kazakhstan and Siberia have been placed in the service of the people. The output of metals and coal is rapidly increasing. The exploitation of gigantic deposits of natural gas in Uzbekistan will provide a dependable fuel supply for the Central Asian republics and cheap gas will be piped in large quantities to Kazakhstan and the Urals. The chemical industry is developing at a high rate.

*The reorganization of industrial and building management* has greatly accelerated economic progress. It has affected every aspect of the country's economic life, has elevated the role played by the Union Republics in economic construction, has stimulated the initiative of local Party, governmental and economic bodies and of broad sections of the working people and has helped bring economic reserves into action.

Comrades, the *Seven-Year Plan for the Development of the Economy of the U.S.S.R.*, adopted by the Twenty-First Congress has been an important stage in the creation of the material and technical basis of communism.

It will be remembered that the control figures for the seven years envisaged an increase in overall industrial output by about eighty per cent. The absolute growth we planned for the seven years was equal to that achieved during the previous two decades. All the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and millions of working people abroad welcomed the plan with enthusiasm. As for bourgeois politicians, these assessed the Seven-Year Plan as a new Soviet challenge to the capitalist world. And it was, indeed, a challenge to engage in peaceful economic competition!

Among bourgeois politicians there were also those who repeated the old inventions that date back to the first five-year plans. They declared beforehand that it was another piece of propaganda, that the Communists had drawn up plans without due consideration of their possibilities, and that the Seven-Year Plan would be revised. The plan has now been operating for almost three years.

And what has happened? It must be admitted that we actually have had to review some of the *Seven-Year Plan* targets—seven years is a long time and not everything can be foreseen. We have made adjustments in a number of important points in the plan; we have, so to say, “considered the criticism” of the enemies of communism. To be more exact, the changes were suggested by developments, and were made possible by the devoted labor of the Soviet people. The *Seven-Year Plan* called for an 8.3 per cent average annual growth in industrial output in the first three years. The actual growth in these three years will amount annually to ten per cent. The industries of the Soviet Union will produce goods worth about 19,000 million rubles more than planned for the first three years. In this period the country will obtain additionally about two million tons of pig iron, more than nine million tons of steel, about eight million tons of rolled goods, ten million tons of oil and many other items.

This is what the adjusted targets for the last year of the plan now look like:

it was planned to smelt 65-70 million tons of pig iron but we now expect to smelt 72-73 million;  
instead of 86-91 million tons of steel we shall probably obtain 95-97 million tons or more.



Some people proposed increasing steel output to 100 million tons a year. But we restrained them, saying that all branches of economy had to be developed evenly, that, along with production of metal, we should also remember about housing, children's establishments, manufacture of footwear, clothing, etc. In this matter we must adhere strictly to the directives adopted at the 21st Party Congress. The output of rolled goods will be 73-74 million tons and not 65-70 as planned;

we shall extract not 230-240 million tons of oil, but more than 240 million; the output of electric power will not be 500,000-520,000 million kwh but will be more than 520,000 million kwh; the output of the machine-building and metal-working industries will reach 56,000-57,000 million rubles in value instead of the planned 49,000 million rubles.

These figures may, of course, have to be changed as time goes on; we may have to increase the appropriations for the development of one or another industry, or for cultural and other welfare services, by drawing on the accumulations received as a result of overfulfilment of the plan. Evidently, we will be receiving substantial additional accumulations. The Central Committee of the Party and the Government will earmark them for those branches of the national economy where they are most needed and can best be used.

We shall produce more cement, tractors and farm machinery, paper, footwear, butter, sugar, furniture, radio and television receivers, refrigerators, washing machines and many other items for the country's economy and for the general public than envisaged by the control figures.

That is how we "miscalculated" when drawing up the Seven-Year Plan! We are not ashamed to admit such "miscalculations." I imagine the Soviet people will accept the amendments without regret. And let those who prophesied the failure of our plans think of a way out of the bog into which they have floundered; that is not our headache.

You will recall, comrades, that even at the time of the earliest five-year plans our rate of industrial growth exceeded that of the U.S.A. but that we lagged behind in absolute growth, to say nothing of the considerable difference that existed in the level of production. *In recent years our country has continued to keep far ahead of the U.S.A. as far as the rate of growth is concerned, and has begun to outstrip that country in absolute growth in the production of many important items.* The matter is now one of rapidly closing the gap between production levels, of the Soviet Union's gaining first place in the world for the output of a number of foodstuffs and manufactured goods.

I will cite some facts. The average annual rate of industrial growth in the Soviet Union in the 1956-1961 period amounted to 10.2 per cent, that of the U.S.A. to 2.3 per cent; the average annual output of manufactured goods per head of population increased by 8.2 per cent in the Soviet Union and by 0.6 per cent in the U.S.A.; the average annual increase in investments in the past six years has been 12 per cent in the U.S.S.R. and in the U.S.A. there has been no increase, but, on the contrary, a slight decrease.

And how do matters stand with absolute production figures and the closing of the gap in the level of production? In six years the output of steel in our country has increased by 26 million tons and that of the U.S.A. has



decreased by 15 million tons; oil extraction in the U.S.S.R. has increased by 95 million tons and that of the U.S.A. approximately 20 million tons.

Industrial output in the U.S.S.R. today amounts to more than 60 per cent of American output. Here are the relevant figures for the more important items for 1961 (a preliminary estimate):

|  | U.S.S.R. | U.S.A. | U.S.S.R. as %<br>of U.S.A. |
|--|----------|--------|----------------------------|
| Pig iron (000,000 tons)  | 51.1     | 62.0   | 82                         |
| Steel (000,000 tons)   | 71.0     | 91.0   | 78                         |
| Coal, oil, gas and other<br>fuels (reduced to a<br>single conventional<br>fuel—000,000 tons) | 724      | 1,430  | 51                         |
| Electric power used<br>in industry<br>(000,00,000 kwh)                                       | 213      | 425    | 50                         |
| Electric power<br>(on the busbars—<br>000,000,000 kwh)                                       | 306      | 872    | 35                         |
| Cement (000,000 tons)  | 51       | 54     | 94                         |
| Cotton textiles<br>(unbleached—<br>000,000,000 sq.m.)  | 5.3      | 8.5    | 62                         |
| Woolen textiles<br>(000,000 linear meters)   | 353      | 270    | 131                        |
| Leather footwear<br>(000,000 pairs)  | 443      | 610    | 73                         |
| Granulated sugar<br>(000,000 tons)   | 6.5      | 3.7    | 175                        |
|  | 78       |        |                            |

I would remind you that some ten or eleven years ago Soviet industrial output was less than 30 per cent that of the U.S.A. At the present time the U.S.S.R. has already outstripped the United States in the extraction of iron ore and coal, the production of coke, prefabricated concrete elements, heavy diesel and electric locomotives, sawn timber, woolen textiles, sugar, butter, fish and a number of other foodstuffs and manufactured items.

Our country now accounts for almost a fifth of the world's industrial output, more than Britain, France, Italy, Canada, Japan, Belgium and the Netherlands combined. These are all highly-developed countries with a total population of 280,000,000 people. The fact that our country with a population of 220,000,000 has in total volume of industrial production surpassed them shows how swiftly and surely socialist economy is progressing.

The implementation of the Seven-Year Plan will bring our country up to such a level that little more time will be required to outstrip the United States economically. By fulfilling this basic economic task the Soviet Union will achieve an historic victory in the peaceful competition with the United States of America.

## II. MAKE FULLER USE OF THE UNTAPPED POTENTIALITIES OF SOVIET ECONOMY, ELIMINATE WASTE AND MISMANAGE- MENT. EFFECT AN ALL-ROUND INCREASE OF LABOR PRODUCTIVITY

Comrades, as you see, things are going well with us. We have every possibility not only of fulfilling, but of over-



fulfilling the Seven-Year Plan, and thus laying a sound foundation for the still greater task set out in the draft Program of the Party. For those possibilities to become realities we shall have to work a lot, make better and wiser use of our potentialities and persist in our improvement of the planning and management of the economy.

The chief thing on which attention must be concentrated is *an all-round increase in the productivity of labor*. Experience shows that the Seven-Year Plan target for the growth of labor productivity can be surpassed. This is a big task and an important one. Real heroism will be needed to carry it out. Heroism in our day, however, is not merely enthusiasm, persistence and industriousness. It is also ability, knowledge, a high level of culture, advanced technology and innovation.

Our forefathers composed the well-known song about the cudgel (*dubinushka*) that drove men to work. It is true that words cannot be removed from a song, but even before the Revolution our people had substituted in it the word *ماشинushka* [machine] for *dubinushka*. Even at that time they realized the great power of machinery. Today the Soviet Union is a technically advanced country. In the struggle for genuinely communist labor productivity we must place firm reliance on powerful machinery.

While giving our technical achievements their due, we cannot but see that there are still many unsolved problems. One still comes across instances of new technology being introduced into production very slowly. Take the Likhachov Automobile Works in Moscow, for example. It is still turning out four-ton trucks that were first produced fourteen years ago, with only slight changes being made in the

design. How do the executives of the works and the leading people at the Moscow City Economic Council justify their infatuation with obsolete machines? Why has the design of a new truck been under way for six years already? And this in spite of the considerable help given the plant in organizing the production of an improved vehicle.

The introduction of the new sometimes involves certain production outlays, extra worries and even disappointments. How much easier it is to go on doing quietly today what you did yesterday, and tomorrow what you are doing today. Unfortunately we still have executives who want to spend the rest of their days in peace.

But we cannot have Soviet executives working that way. Routine and stagnation are alien to the very nature of socialist production which is dynamic, revolutionary and always forward-looking. It is essential that we employ more *speedily and to the full everything that science and technology create in our country, that we take more boldly the best of what foreign experience offers, that we more extensively develop specialization and co-operation and accelerate the rate of the overall mechanization and automation of production*. We cannot tolerate conservatism in technology when we are building a communist economy. You can't clear high jumps on an old nag, as the saying goes.

At every factory, mine and building site we must thoroughly and painstakingly examine its technical equipment—replace whatever is obsolete and wherever there are no production lines we must organize them. We must build new enterprises and technically re-equip those now in operation, we must produce the most up-to-date machine



tools, organize production lines, introduce automation and perfect technological processes.

*Electrification* plays the leading role in technical progress. It is the basis on which are developed automation, radio engineering, electronics and cybernetics, all the perfect equipment that determines the technical level of production. New power installations must be put into operation more rapidly and the electrification of all branches of the economy must proceed at a faster pace.

The overall electrification of the country, the building of gigantic hydro-electric power stations, will make it possible to begin simultaneously the solution of other complex economic problems. We must complete the chains of power stations on the Volga and the Dnieper to provide deep waterways and irrigate millions of hectares of land.

On the Volga, the Kama and the Dnieper, ten hydro-electric power stations are in operation at full capacity and four are under construction. To complete the reconstruction of the Volga-Kama basin, we have yet to build four hydro-technical units and erect the installations for the transfer of water from the northern rivers, the Pechora and the Vychegda, through the Kama and the Volga to the Caspian Sea. The sixth station in the Dnieper system has still to be built—Kanev hydro-electric station—and the Pripet River reconstructed to link the Baltic Sea with the Black Sea through the Niemen River and a system of canals.

Such are the magnificent plans being elaborated by the Party of Lenin. It will be possible for us to start realizing them in the present seven-year period.

The question of questions, comrades, is *capital construction*.

The Seven-Year Plan envisaged state investments to the amount of 194,000-197,000 million rubles. Some of our opponents hissed at the time that we would not be able to realize such huge investments. What has actually happened? The average annual growth of investments was planned at 8.6 per cent and the actual average has been 11 per cent per annum for the three years. This overfulfilment of the plan for investments means that in the course of three years out of the seven we are investing an additional sum of more than 3,500 million rubles in the economy.

There is no doubt that we are now building better and more quickly. There are, however, still very many shortcomings in building. At the present time there are over a hundred thousand construction sites in the country; a half of them are for industry. With this huge number of projects in hand simultaneously, funds and materials are scattered and many enterprises go into production two or three years later than technical possibilities permit. Funds expended are frozen over a long period, they lie idle and the state does not get its money back.

Why is that so? It is because the desire for great things militates against a reasonable and realistic approach. It frequently happens that plausible excuses of solicitude for state interests are used to cover out and out parochialism; to put it crudely, it is grabbing on a regional, territorial and at times even a republic scale. Republic Councils of Ministers, economic councils, ministries, and local Party bodies try to get funds to start the greatest possible num-



ber of projects without considering whether the necessary building materials, manpower, and equipment can be supplied, and the planning bodies do not prevent these acts that contravene the interests of the state. This leads to stoppages, low labor productivity, protractions of schedules, extra expenses and higher building costs.

If we overcome this defect—and overcoming it depends entirely on the ability to give guidance, on our will—we shall create conditions for a further speed-up in building. It seems that we shall have to stop starting new projects for a time, for a year, say, and devote all the funds that will accumulate in that period to the completion of building projects already begun. Exceptions can only be sanctioned for particularly important projects and then only by decision of the Union Government. The Central Committee and the Soviet Government have recently adopted a decision laying down the sequence for capital construction.

Matters must be so arranged, the planning must be so organized, that proportionality in the development of the economy is strictly observed and all potentialities are used to the full. An important role in this respect should be played by the recently organized enlarged economic areas and the boards set up in those areas to co-ordinate and plan the work of economic councils.

Of tremendous importance is the correct, economically substantiated selection of the way in which the different branches of economy are to develop. In projects for the building of new enterprises and the reconstruction of those *already in operation*, it is essential to choose the best technological methods that can be implemented at the lowest cost.

Considerable economic interest, for example, attaches to the question of how the steel industry is to develop. Experience has shown that the production of steel in converters with the use of oxygen is more profitable than in open-hearth furnaces; the economy effected in initial investments amounts to about six million rubles on a million tons of steel and an additional million is economized during exploitation. Despite the obvious advantages of the use of converters, far from sufficient attention is being paid to it.

You will remember that at the Twentieth Congress sharp criticism was leveled at those conservatives who regarded themselves as specialists in railway transport. Their ideologist was Kaganovich, who called himself the "iron commissar." For a long time they clung to their steam locomotives and barred the way to electric and diesel traction. At that time we broke down their resistance, and the technical re-equipment of the railways went ahead at top speed. In some other branches of economy, too, conservatives cling to the old like the devil to a sinner's soul.

Socialist economic management demands an ability to analyze profoundly and with knowledge the economic aspect of the work of enterprises, building projects and whole branches of industry. We cannot leave those executives at the helm of economic construction who are either not accustomed or who are unable to count the money of the state, and who see as their mission the fulfillment of plans at all costs. Take, for instance, the leaders of the Perm Economic Council. It would seem that all is well with *them, they report punctually on the fulfillment of targets* for total output. But look how they run their economy. Last year every third enterprise in the Perm Economic Area



failed to fulfil its plan for profit, with the result that twenty-seven million rubles were lost to the accumulation funds. The Economic Council paid out over eight million rubles in various fines, lost seven million rubles in spoilage and ended the year with a deficit of 26 million rubles in circulating funds.

Do you think that Comrade Soldatov, Chairman of the Economic Council, was seriously criticized? Nothing of the kind. He was promoted to a leading post in the All-Russian Economic Council.

A ruthless war must be declared on the waste of raw and other materials and electric power. How many times has it been said, for instance, that a tremendous amount of metal is expended irrationally. Over four million tons of metal go annually into shavings and, furthermore, no little effort, working time, electric power and tools are expended on them.

And are we at all thrifty in the way we deal with natural and oil-well gas? During the past three years about 30,000 million cubic meters of gas have been dissipated in the atmosphere or burnt to destroy it in the oilfields. To get a clearer idea of what such mismanagement costs the state, it is enough to say that the natural gas lost would satisfy the annual needs of big industrial centers like Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Minsk and Magnitogorsk combined, while the oil-well gas lost would be sufficient to produce about a million tons of synthetic rubber.

Financial control must be made stricter in all spheres of production. Economy in big and little things, the purposeful utilization of natural resources and material values must be elevated to the level of state policy.

Planning practice must be radically improved. It must be said that planning bodies not infrequently make mistakes and miscalculations in estimating the volume of production. Output plans do not always dovetail with plans for the supply of materials and machines and with coordinated deliveries, and building plans are not adapted to financial allocations, supplies of materials and deliveries of equipment. In any economy there must always be certain reserves, the planning must not be from hand to mouth, so to say.

It is now possible for us to build up the necessary circulating funds at enterprises themselves. It was difficult to do this in the past when dozens of ministries had a hand in every economic area and each of them tried to isolate itself within its own boundary posts. Those boundary posts have now been removed. The economic area is a single economic entity under the guidance of the economic council and it is this body that must provide its enterprises and building sites with sufficient materials both for production and for repairs.

Party and economic bodies must be made to account more strictly for their fulfilment of the decisions and directives of the Party and the Government, and Party and state discipline must be enhanced throughout the state apparatus. No high-handed methods or lack of discipline can be tolerated in a planned economy. A number of economic councils, for instance the Dnepropetrovsk, Bryansk and Uzbek councils, expended more than their quota of certain materials and equipment on the needs of "their own" economic areas; plans for deliveries to other economic areas suffered in consequence. This is the work of



those who follow the principle "How can you refuse a favor to a friend?" Unprincipled executives who are prepared to "do a favor" to the local authorities at state expense, who are guilty of malicious breaches of Party and state discipline, must be severely punished.

Our task is to increase considerably the output of goods by improving the organization of production, by the extensive employment of the methods of advanced workers in all branches of industry and in building.

The best methods must be more vigorously introduced and the lagging and so-called average enterprises must be brought up to the level of the best.

The wonderful successes of our industry, building and transport have been achieved by the devoted labor of the Soviet working class, engineers, technicians, designers and scientists. Relying in the future on their experience, knowledge and political and labor activity we shall attain those great aims of communist construction that the Twenty-Second Congress will define.

### III. A HIGHLY-DEVELOPED AGRICULTURE IS A NECESSARY CONDITION FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF COMMUNISM. THE DEVELOPMENT OF VIRGIN LANDS IS A GREAT ACHIEVEMENT OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE

Comrades, in the period under review the Party has devoted special attention to the development of agriculture. And this is understandable, for, as a result of the war, and also of errors and shortcomings in the management of

collective and state farms, our agriculture found itself in a difficult position.

The Party was faced with a vital and most pressing task, namely, speedily to eliminate the lag in agriculture and meet the food requirements of the people and the raw material requirements of industry. The September 1953 and subsequent plenary meetings of the Central Committee disclosed the causes of the errors and shortcomings in the management of agriculture and devised a comprehensive program to promote its progress. The Twentieth Congress unanimously approved the measures taken, and instructed the Central Committee to work with unflagging energy for a rapid increase in the output of grain, industrial crops, meat, milk and other products.

In these past years important measures have been carried out in agriculture. They have already benefited communist construction and will benefit it still more later on. With the active co-operation of the people, the Party set about the effective solution of many cardinal problems in agricultural development.

*The material and technical basis of the collective and state farms has been strengthened. From 1956 to 1960 investments in agriculture amounted to 27,200 million rubles compared with 13,900 million in the previous five years, or were almost doubled. Our farms were supplied with 747,000 tractors as against the 427,000 delivered in the previous five years; large quantities of other machinery were also provided.*

*The machine and tractor stations have been reorganized and this has made it possible to put the land and machinery*



in the same hands and to create conditions for the better use of the productive forces in agriculture.

*Immense tracts of virgin and unutilized land have been developed.* As a result there have been decisive increases in grain production and opportunities have been provided for a more rapid development of livestock farming.

*The role of the state farms in communist construction has been increased.* In seven years over 3,000 new state farms have been set up, and their total number is now almost 8,000. Many of the state farms are highly productive model farms which set an example for the socialist organization of farm production. The cultivated area of the state farms has grown from 15 to 80 million hectares, and their share of sales to the state is: grain 43 per cent, meat 28, milk 32 and wool 31 per cent.

*A new system of planning has been introduced.* It is based on the principle of combining state guidance with the encouragement of the creative initiative of the people. This has increased the activity of the working people in the countryside and made for a more responsible attitude to making better use of land and technical equipment on the part of the collective farms and local government bodies.

*The Leninist principle of giving material incentives to the collective farmers, state-farm workers and specialists to increase agricultural production has been restored.* The state has replaced obligatory deliveries by purchases; it has substantially raised purchase prices and has reduced the prices of capital goods for the rural areas.

*The collective and state farms have been reinforced by leading cadres and specialists.* At the call of the Party hun-

dreds of thousands of Communists and non-Party people have gone to work in the countryside.

These, then, are the more important measures carried out by our Party. They had a truly revolutionizing effect on the development of agriculture and the entire socialist economy. Total agricultural output has gone up 43 per cent in the past five years as against the preceding five years. The output of grain, meat, milk and other farm produce has increased very considerably. Thanks to greater collective production, the money incomes of the collective farms and their non-distributable assets have doubled. The living standard of the farmers has improved as a result of the progress made in collective farming.

Now let us look at the condition of the major branches of agriculture.

The Central Committee has been directing the efforts of the working people in the countryside towards a *greater output of grain* as the basis of agricultural progress. The Party has criticized the indiscriminate use of grass-arable rotation. Steps have been taken to effect a considerable expansion of areas under more productive and valuable crops—wheat and corn—and seed cultivation has been improved to an appreciable degree.

The development of virgin and unutilized lands is prominent among the measures implemented by the Party. The Central Committee is happy to report to the Congress that this task has been successfully accomplished. In the boundless steppes of Kazakhstan, Siberia, the Volga region, the Urals and other eastern areas, 41,800,000 hectares of new land have been cultivated and put at the service of the people. The new lands now account for over 40 per cent



of the grain purchased by the state. *Their development is a great feat which our heroic people have performed in building communism. It is an achievement that will live through the ages.*

The newly-developed lands have radically changed the grain balance of many areas of our country. It is with pride and elation that we speak of this historic fact—the increase in the country's grain output achieved through the development of new lands. Before the new lands were developed, the regions concerned produced an annual average of 22,700,000 tons of grain; between 1956 and 1960, their output averaged 55,100,000 tons a year.

Grain sales, too, have greatly increased. Here are some data to illustrate this.

| <i>Grain Sales to the State (yearly averages, 000 tons)</i> |           |           |
|---|-----------|-----------|
|   | 1949-1953 | 1956-1960 |
| <i>R.S.F.S.R.</i>   | 19,587    | 28,409    |
| Altai Territory   | 800       | 4,009     |
| Orenburg Region   | 699       | 1,881     |
| Omsk Region   | 585       | 1,456     |
| Novosibirsk Region  | 423       | 1,317     |
| Krasnoyarsk Territory                                       | 716       | 1,196     |
| <i>Kazakh S.S.R.</i>  | 1,819     | 11,545    |
| Virgin Lands  | 1,031     | 8,316     |
| Tselinograd Region  | 210       | 2,483     |
| Kustanai Region   | 275       | 2,263     |
| Kokchetav Region  | 203       | 1,520     |
| Pavlodar Region   | 82        | 1,216     |
| North Kazakhstan Region                                     | 261       | 834       |

That shows you the capacity of the new lands. There you have some of the fruits of the Party's policy. It is gratifying to note that the peoples of all the fraternal republics of the Soviet Union took part in the development of the new lands, particularly our fine youth, our Leninist Komsomol. In response to the call of the Party, hundreds of thousands of patriots went to unsettled steppes. There they accomplished feats of labor heroism and brought fame to their great country.

The value of the new lands goes beyond the many additional millions of tons of grain our country obtains there. Their development is radically transforming vast areas in the East. Large state farms, modern settlements, research institutions and educational establishments have sprung up in the steppes, where you can also see new railways and roads, and high-voltage transmission lines. The Party and the people have developed a vast industrial zone in the East. Thanks to the development of new lands, our eastern areas now supply enormous quantities of grain and livestock products. All the riches of the Soviet East will thus serve the great cause of communist construction. We have here an example of truly communist renovation of the earth.

While promoting grain farming, the Party is also working to increase the output of sugar beet, cotton, flax, sunflower seeds, potatoes, vegetables, fruit, including citrus fruit, grapes, and tea. We have noteworthy achievements in these fields as well. The growth of agricultural production can be seen from the following table:



|  | Average Annual Output |           | 1956-1960<br>in % of |
|--|-----------------------|-----------|----------------------|
|  | 1951-1955             | 1956-1960 | 1951-1955            |
| Grain (000,000 tons)                         | 89.1                  | 126.8     | 142                  |
| Sugar beet (at refineries)<br>(000,000 tons) | 24.0                  | 45.6      | 190                  |
| Cotton (000 tons)                            | 3,888                 | 4,365     | 112                  |
| Sunflower seeds (000 tons)                   | 2,456                 | 3,672     | 150                  |
| Flax (000 tons)                              | 234                   | 438       | 187                  |
| Potatoes (000,000 tons)                      | 69.5                  | 88.3      | 127                  |
| Vegetables (000,000 tons)                    | 11.2                  | 15.1      | 134                  |
| Fruit (000 tons)                             | 2,100                 | 2,905     | 138                  |
| Grapes (000 tons)                            | 1,021                 | 1,592     | 156                  |
| Tea (000 tons)                               | 105.8                 | 134.0     | 127                  |

Agricultural output has thus grown considerably in five years. The result is that state purchases of grain and the other farm products have increased to a large extent. While formerly the state purchased 30-35 million tons of grain, in recent years it has been purchasing 50-55 million tons or more.

*The problem of advancing livestock farming* holds a special place among the more urgent problems of agricultural development. It will be remembered that until very recently this vital branch was in a state of extreme neglect and there occurred serious difficulties in supplying the population with food. Tremendous effort was required to do away with that protracted lag. It was first of all indispensable that the problem of increasing feed production be solved. The planting of corn was a most important condition, along with the development of new lands, for a better feed supply. Corn growing for ensilage at the milk-

wax stage extended the area of cultivation and made it possible to push that valuable crop almost into all areas of the country. In 1953 the area under corn was 3,485,000 hectares, whereas today it is almost 26 million hectares. The collective and state farms have been producing more fodder grain and have sharply increased the amount of silage. Much has been done in the way of building premises for livestock and poultry and for dairy farms, and mechanizing labor-consuming operations.

We now have every reason to assert that *radical changes have come about in livestock breeding on collective and state farms*. Take the livestock population. For a long time it was at one and the same level and only in the last few years has the situation changed noticeably. This is how the livestock population has increased in farms of all categories:

|        | 1955  | 1960<br>(000,000 head) | 1960 as %<br>of 1955 |
|--------|-------|------------------------|----------------------|
| Cattle | 58.8  | 75.8                   | 129                  |
| Cows   | 27.7  | 34.8                   | 126                  |
| Pigs   | 34.0  | 58.7                   | 173                  |
| Sheep  | 103.3 | 133.0                  | 129                  |

It is important to note that the livestock population has been growing chiefly on the collective and state farms. In the last five years the number of cattle on the farms has gone up by 68 per cent and that of pigs, by 150 per cent.

The growing purchases of meat, milk and other products vividly illustrate the work carried out in the field of livestock farming.



*Purchased*  
(annual average, 000 tons)      1956-1960 in  
% of

|                    | 1951-1955 | 1956-1960 | 1951-1955 |
|--------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Meat (live weight) | 3,523     | 6,111     | 173       |
| Milk               | 10,987    | 22,231    | 202       |
| Eggs (000,000)     | 2,582     | 4,841     | 187       |
| Wool               | 190.6     | 310.6     | 163       |

You will see that the purchases of livestock products have substantially increased. It is important to stress that the collective and state farms have now become the decisive factor in supplying the country with livestock products. Their share in meat sales last year was 87 per cent and in those of milk, 93 per cent. This is a big victory for the policy of our Party, a victory for the socialist economic system.

*Comrades, our progress in agriculture is appreciable and indisputable. But the question arises: Why are we still short of certain products, particularly meat, and why, despite our important overall achievements, do we still have considerable difficulty in supplying the population with livestock products?*

This is due, first of all, to the fact that the rate of growth of agricultural production is still lower than that of industrial production and still does not meet the growing requirements of the population.

Let us look into the changes that have occurred in our country in recent years. Our population has increased considerably. As I have said, compared with 1955, it has increased by more than 20 million. The incomes of the work-

ing people have been growing year after year. Thanks to higher wages, the abolition of taxes, the discontinuance of the floating of state loans, and increased pensions, the incomes of the population in 1960 were greater than in 1955 by 24,000 million rubles. Needless to say, the workers and peasants do not hoard their money but spend it on food and other goods. It is natural, therefore, that meat, milk and butter consumption should greatly increase. State and co-operative sales of livestock products to the population have increased in the following proportions:

|                              | 1953       | 1960  |
|------------------------------|------------|-------|
|                              | (000 tons) |       |
| Meat and meat products       | 1,757      | 4,158 |
| Milk and whole-milk products | 1,980      | 8,214 |
| Butter                       | 330        | 613   |

*We all rejoice in this increased consumption of the more valuable food products. The Party is working to ensure that the Soviet people eat better and that the general standard of living improves. Food consumption will continue growing, and this implies that we must always keep agricultural problems in the foreground and ensure that agricultural production is always ahead of demand. Yet many Party and government organizations in 1959 and 1960 slackened attention to agriculture, with the result that the rate of output, especially as regards meat and milk, fell far short of Seven-Year Plan targets.*

This fact caused understandable concern to the Party. The January 1961 Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee sharply criticized shortcomings in agricultural management and condemned all manifestations of complacency



and over-confidence. The Central Committee meeting, as well as regional conferences, went deeply into the question of ways and means of improving the agricultural situation and outlined definite measures for increased production.

The Soviet people gave their full support to the measures planned by the Party; they felt confident that these measures were realistic and have been vigorously putting the decisions of the January meeting of the Central Committee into practice. It is true that but little time has passed since the Party decided on those measures and they have, therefore, not yet had their full impact on the situation in agriculture. But what has been done so far, the results achieved this year, warrant the conclusion that it will not be long before agricultural production shows a steep rise.

What have we accomplished this year? The total grain harvest is greater than last year. State purchases are also greater. By October 15, grain purchases mounted to 50.5 million tons, or 5.8 million tons more than on the same date last year. Total state purchases for the year will be roughly 54 million tons, or 7.4 million tons more than last year. And this is a big victory for the Party and the people. It is all the more valuable because it has been gained in a year that has not been particularly good as far as weather conditions are concerned.

What enabled us to produce and purchase more grain than before? The decisive fact was that the collective and state farms, in carrying out the decisions of the Central Committee Plenary Meeting, revised their crop system and replaced less productive with more productive crops, mainly with corn and legumes, although it must be pointed

out that not all collective and state farms carried out these important measures.

The Ukraine is a good example of the way agriculture has benefited from the measures adopted by the Party. You will recall that at the January Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee the leaders of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, the Council of Ministers of that republic, regional Party committees and executive committees of regional Soviets were sharply criticized for shortcomings in agricultural management, especially for low grain output. Last year the Ukraine sold the state a mere 5.9 million tons of grain.

You, Ukrainian comrades, remember this fact of course, you did not forget it.

*Voice from the hall:* We have not forgotten, and it's not only the Ukrainians who remember this.

*N. S. Khrushchev:* That's fine!

The Party organizations of the Ukraine drew proper conclusions from criticism leveled at them. They proceeded to organize and lead the working people of the countryside in carrying out big new tasks. The republic's collective and state farms made better use of the land and of their potentialities, and launched an emulation movement to fulfill commitments and plans. Millions of people were taught advanced methods of corn-growing. This year the area planted to corn for grain was greatly expanded and there was a considerable improvement in the yield per hectare. The area planted to peas has been increased by 342,000 hectares and the average yield was 17.4 tons per hectare. These facts have played a decisive role in increasing grain production and sales to the state.



The following data indicate changes in grain sales in the various regions of the Ukraine:

| <i>Grain Sold to the State</i> |                 |                |
|--------------------------------|-----------------|----------------|
|                                | (000 tons)      |                |
|                                | 1961            | Annual average |
| <i>Region</i>                  | (by October 15) | 1956-1960      |
| Poltava                        | 1,197           | 359            |
| Dnepropetrovsk                 | 1,142           | 717            |
| Kharkov                        | 982             | 406            |
| Kirovograd                     | 986             | 504            |
| Zaporozhye                     | 891             | 676            |
| Lugansk                        | 657             | 169            |
| Vinnitsa                       | 669             | 439            |
| Cherkassk                      | 602             | 325            |

Altogether the collective and state farms of the Ukraine will this year sell the state something like 14 million tons of grain of which 12.2 million tons had already been sold by October 15. It is important to note that although they have sold so much grain, the collective and state farms have made ample provision for seed and have unprecendented quantities of grain in stock for use as fodder. The collective farms supply their members with ample quantities of grain as payment for work-day units and pay bonuses for high yields in full.

Comrades, this is a pleasing phenomenon. I lived for many years in the Ukraine and have a good knowledge of the industrious Ukrainian people, I worked with them both before the war and after the war in restoring the economy. However, I must admit that our imagination at that time did not reach the level which the Ukraine has today achieved in grain production. We often say that "being" determines

one's consciousness, and sometimes we remark as a joke that a "beating" helps one's consciousness. Therefore, the criticism leveled at our Ukrainian comrades, although severe, was justified. It was correctly received and correctly understood. This criticism roused the people, and they showed what they were capable of. We praise the Ukrainian comrades and expect that they will still further boost the level of agricultural production.

The Communist Party of the Ukraine and the Ukrainian people as a whole have achieved an outstanding victory. Great credit accrues to the working people of the Ukraine, who can report such remarkable achievements to this Congress.

The working people of many regions in the Russian Federation have this year achieved gratifying successes in the struggle for grain. By October 15, the collective and state farms of the republic had sold the state 29.9 million tons of grain, or 1.5 million tons more than by the same date last year. The state will apparently purchase 33 million tons of grain in the Russian Federation; in this republic, as in the Ukraine, corn played an important part in meeting food and fodder requirements.

A big corn harvest has been gathered over large areas. Take Krasnodar Territory, for instance. On account of the spring drought, this year's grain crop in the Kuban area is only 1.9 tons per hectare or two-fifths of a ton less than last year, when 2.3 tons were gathered from each hectare. The amount of grain produced and the amount sold to the state, however, have been considerably increased. By October 15 the collective and state farms of the territory had sold the state 1,900,000 tons of grain,



or 571,000 tons more than by the same date last year. How has this been done? The collective and state farms of the territory have obtained high corn yields over an area of 400,000 hectares. They were thus able to sell the state 548,000 tons of corn by October 15, 1961, whereas only 308,000 tons had been sold by the same date last year.

Collective farmers and state-farm workers have this year obtained significant results in increasing grain output in the central black earth regions and some regions of the Volga area, the Urals and Siberia, thereby showing that the Russian Federation possesses tremendous resources for a bigger output of farm produce. Here are comparative figures on the amount of grain sold to the state by some regions.

*Grain Sold to the State (000 tons)*

| Region  | 1961<br>(by October 15) | Annual average<br>1956-1960 |
|---|-------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Stalingrad  | 2,036                   | 1,229                       |
| Voronezh  | 1,084                   | 630                         |
| And this is the same Voronezh region which, as you remember, showed "innovations" in harvesting corn by using a tractor-drawn rail. The Voronezh comrades were subjected to criticism changed the implements for cultivating the land and, as you see, attained good results. |                         |                             |
|   | 1961<br>(by October 15) | Annual average<br>1956-1960 |
| Tambov  | 862                     | 458                         |
| Penza   | 696                     | 450                         |
| Belgorod  | 600                     | 315                         |
| Kursk   | 582                     | 375                         |
| Lipetsk   | 461                     | 277                         |

These successes have been achieved by the devoted labor of the collective farmers, state-farm workers and agricultural specialists, and through the organizational and political work of Party organizations who have developed a wide-spread emulation movement for the fulfillment of commitments.

The Ukrainians demonstrated their abilities in 1961 and the comrades from the Russian Federation should take good note of their experience and draw the corresponding conclusions. The Russian Federation has great potentialities and it should take cognizance of its own strength and tackle matters energetically.

Many Western politicians at times say:

"We believe in the achievements of your industry, but cannot understand how you will straighten out matters in agriculture."

When talking with them I said:

"Just wait and we will show you a thing or two in agricultural production as well!"

We have inexhaustible opportunities. It is necessary fully to realize this and utilize them. It seems that after the Party Congress it will be necessary to repeat the experience of conducting conferences of workers in agriculture in the republics, territories and regions. It will be necessary, as we say, to give a good shake-down to some people in some places, to cleanse somewhat the pores as is done by those who are fond of Russian baths, so that the organism receives a more normal supply of oxygen.

I should like to express confidence in the ability of the working people of the Russian Federation to make still



fuller use of their potentialities and achieve fresh successes in developing all branches of agriculture.

The January Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee pointed out that in a number of areas there were intolerable lags in the production of cereals and legumes. This year there is a noticeable increase in the production and sales of these crops. Last year 350,000 tons of legumes were sold to the state but this year the figure is 676,000 tons. More buckwheat and millet have been purchased.

The production of cotton, sugar beet, sunflower seeds and other crops has also increased. This year, in the face of difficulties occasioned by a shortage of water for irrigation, the collective farmers and state-farm workers of the Uzbek, Tajik, Turkmen and Kirghiz Republics and the South Kazakhstan Region of the Kazakhstan Republic showed great perseverance and tenacity. They raised a good cotton crop and are successfully meeting their commitments. By October 15, state cotton purchases amounted to a total of 3,000,000 tons of cotton, or 663,000 tons more than last year; Uzbekistan, the biggest cotton-grower, has sold 1,982,000 tons to the state, or 453,000 tons more than last year.

The collective and state farms of Georgia have, as last year, produced an excellent tea harvest. They have sold the state 154,000 tons of tea, fulfilling the plan by 107 per cent.

These, then, are the preliminary results of this year's farming. As for stock breeding, we have made some progress in this field as well. The cattle population of the collective and state farms has grown by 4,000,000 head

within the year, the increase in the number of cows being 1,700,000; the number of pigs is up by 5,000,000 head and that of sheep, by 3,000,000 head. The output and state purchases of livestock products have increased.

The rate of growth of meat and milk output, however, is still far below the necessary level. Much hard work will have to be done and, most important of all, all potentialities will have to be utilized to effect a considerable increase in the production of these items as early as 1962.

#### IV. PRESS FORWARD AGRICULTURAL PROGRESS. MEET THE POPULATION'S DEMAND FOR FARM PRODUCTS MORE FULLY.

Comrades, our potentialities are immense. Within the next few years we shall be able to increase grain purchases to 68.9 million tons, meat to 13 million tons and milk to 50 million tons annually, as envisaged by the decisions of the January Meeting of the Central Committee. In what way can production be substantially increased and purchases of farm produce brought to such a level?

For a greater grain output, the important thing is to continue improving the crop pattern and to raise productivity. The less productive crops must be firmly ruled out to make room for those with a high yield, and a correct rotation must be established. This is indeed a basic task in agriculture, and one that is most pressing, comrades. We still have many areas where farming is irrational. The Kirov, Kostroma and Yaroslavl regions are particularly indicative in this respect.



Kirov Region, for example, last year planted 477,000 hectares to oats and 515,000 hectares to annual and perennial grasses. These crops were planted on a million hectares on 44 per cent of the total crop area. Another 514,000 hectares were left lying fallow. When we consider that annual grasses yielded 0.7 to 0.8 tons of hay, and oats 0.5 to 0.7 tons of grain per hectare, we realize that more than half the arable area was virtually unused. The area under corn and peas was 155,000 hectares, or only seven per cent of the region's sown land. In the light of these facts, how could there have been sufficient grain or feed and how can anyone develop livestock farming with such a crop pattern? More than a few speeches were delivered in Kirov Region on farming efficiency but the speakers all forgot the main thing.

What do we mean by efficient land cultivation? First of all the maximum yield per hectare of land and per unit of labor expended. But this can only be achieved if the most productive crops are planted and crop rotation is properly organized, and if the collective and state farms make extensive use of scientific achievements and the experience of innovators. It is this purpose—the greatest possible output, the best utilization of the land, and higher fertility—that the crop system should serve.

Unfortunately, many of our scientists, agronomists and farmers are still under the spell of grass-arable rotation, whose indiscriminate application has caused a great deal of harm to agriculture. The sooner we get rid of indiscriminate practices in agriculture, the more creative imagination we display in solving urgent problems and the more fully we take account of the experience of the foremost

collective and state farms and research institutions, the sooner we shall increase the output of grain and other farm products.

In revising the crop pattern, special attention should be paid to *greater output of corn, grain and legumes*. In the more favorable corn-growing areas—the Ukraine, the southern regions of the Russian Federation, in Moldavia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, the southern areas of Kazakhstan and in the Central Asian republics—we can harvest five tons of dry grain per hectare on large areas. We must select appropriate varieties and hybrids and must raise grain corn in the central black earth regions, the Volga region and elsewhere and also push corn northward.

It is essential to realize, comrades, that without corn the collective and state farms cannot achieve the required level of grain production. Corn has shown its potentialities in every area of the Soviet Union. If there are some parts of the country in which corn is not properly cultivated and the collective and state farms obtain low harvests, the blame should be put on the management and not on the climate. Where corn refuses to grow there is a component which hampers its growth. The component is to be found in the leadership, first of all on the collective and state farms, and then also at district, regional, territorial and even republic levels. We must replace officials who have grown as dry as dust and are causing a valuable crop like corn to wither, as well as preventing it from proving its worth to the full.

The experience of many thousands of collective and state farms this year has shown beyond all doubt that one of the main sources of increased grain production is,



along with corn, a sharp increase in the share of peas and beans among the spring crops. On an expanse stretching from the Carpathian foothills to the virgin steppes of Siberia and Kazakhstan, peas yield harvests of two, three or more tons per hectare. *The introduction of corn, peas and feed beans on a large scale is not just a task like any other but a highly important means to improve our crop system.*

The further development and better use of new lands is a major source of increased grain production. Within the next few years we must develop not less than another 8,000,000 hectares, which will raise the total of new land in use to 50 million hectares. The proper utilization of these land areas is a task of national importance. I must say that there are serious defects in the use of new lands. In Kazakhstan, for example, the one-crop system is in effect dominant; the state and collective farms have for many years been sowing nothing but spring wheat, that is, grain upon grain. The result is that the fields have become weedy and the growth of productivity has been checked. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan and the Council of Ministers of that republic hardly gave thought to the future of the newly-developed lands and took an incorrect stand on the solution of problems of crop farming on them.

The errors that have been committed must be rectified. The fullest use must be made of the new lands; it is essential to expand the areas for cultivation, introduce corn, peas, feed beans and sugar beet and keep land fallow where needed. On the new lands, the machinery used must be suited to the cultivator system. Tractor cultivation

may be introduced there only if cultivation is highly mechanized.

It is important to introduce the strictest agronomic regulations, to make the relevant set of agrotechnical measures as obligatory as technological operations are at a factory, and raise the role of the agronomist on the collective and state farms to the same high level as that of the engineer in industry.

The development of new lands is an accomplishment of our Party, comrades, something our people may well be proud of. We must make farming on the new lands a symbol of the efficiency of socialist agriculture.

Increased grain output will also enable us to solve the problem of expanded livestock farming all the more speedily. We deliberately treat the production of grain, meat and milk as a single problem. It would be wrong to separate the solution of the grain problem from that of livestock farming. The two problems should be dealt with jointly and solved jointly. What do I mean by the solution of the grain problem? I mean the attainment of a level of grain production such as will meet the demand for both food and feed. And what do I mean by the solution of the problem of livestock farming? I mean primarily greater output of meat, milk and butter. As we say in Russian, a dry spoon will scratch the tongue. If anyone is to eat his bread with relish, he must be able to "flavor" it with butter, bacon, meat and other livestock products, which cannot be supplied in adequate quantities unless grain production is adequate. The solution of the livestock problem also means an increased supply of manure and, therefore, higher crop yields.



To meet the people's demand for meat and milk in full and to overtake and outstrip the United States in per capita output of livestock products, the collective and state farms must draw on the progress made so far and use the experience they have gained.

American journalists are present here. They like to make fun of this slogan. I would like you to know, gentlemen, that if we have advanced this, then it will most certainly be attained by our people. When our Party advances a slogan our people supports it and carries it out into life. This will be achieved!

Our immediate task is to produce in our country an average of not less than 7.5 tons of meat per hundred hectares of arable and 1.6 tons per hundred hectares of other farmland. We now have all we require to achieve such a level on every collective or state farm. These, of course, are average indices for the country as a whole. Many areas of the Russian Federation, the Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Lithuanian, Latvian, Estonian and Moldavian Republics can and must produce much more meat and milk per hundred hectares of arable and other farmland. I have already mentioned, comrades, the role which the newly-developed lands have played in increasing grain output. But we have thus fulfilled only our first task, and passed the initial stage of development on the new lands. We must go further, for agriculture on the new lands must not be restricted to one branch, such as grain production. Our task now is to persevere in the development of livestock farming, using grain farming as a basis. That will be the second stage in new land development. Large-scale, well-organized livestock farming in the

newly-developed areas will be a valuable means of increasing the production of meat, milk and butter, and will enable us to meet the requirements of the people more fully. *The new lands have supplied our people with thousands of millions of tons of grain; they must also provide, in addition to grain, millions of tons of meat, milk and other livestock products.*

Corn, legumes and sugar beet are dependable factors in the development of livestock farming. If we learn to raise large quantities of these crops everywhere, we shall be able to produce any pre-set amount of meat, milk, etc.

One of our important tasks is to meet in full the demand of the urban population and industrial centers for milk and the widest assortment of dairy products and of high-quality potatoes and vegetables. Not so long ago a great deal was said in our country about setting up vegetable and milk-producing areas around cities, but actual progress in this field has been slow.

The Central Committee of the Party and the Government have now found a more rational way for the speedy solution of the problem of meeting the demand for these products. The Party is carrying out an extensive program for the establishment of specialized state farms around our cities and industrial centers. We must work still better and more purposefully to ensure that the demand for fresh milk, potatoes and vegetables is fully met through production on the specialized state and collective farms surrounding our cities and industrial centers.

*State interests require a rapid increase in cotton production.* During the remaining years of the Seven-Year Plan we must increase cotton harvests by nearly 50 per cent.



It is important to expand the area under cotton and extend as quickly as possible the irrigated lands of Central Asia. At the same time the cardinal task is to increase yields by better use of the irrigated lands and mechanized cultivation.

The cotton-growing regions of the Uzbek, Tajik, Turkmen, Kirghiz, Kazakh, Azerbaijan and Armenian republics are now faced with a double task: to achieve high productivity of cotton as their basic crop and to have a developed livestock farming. While producing more cotton for industry, the cotton belt must satisfy the demand for meat, milk and other products. To achieve this aim, they must carefully study crop rotation in order to increase feed production simultaneously with an increase in cotton output. Adequate quantities of feed can be provided above all by sowing corn in the irrigated areas and raising the productivity of alfalfa and sugar beet.

In the next few years every collective or state farm must increase cotton yields to not less than 2.5 tons per hectare. When that has been done, we shall have, in the areas now in use, an additional quantity of cotton in excess of one million tons. Two and a half tons is a yield attained by average collective farms; many of the advanced farms gather four or more tons of cotton per hectare.

With regard to the production of *sugar beet, sunflower seeds, flax, hemp, potatoes, vegetables, fruit, grapes, tea and the like*, an effort must be made to increase yields and to use machinery on a larger scale. This is the way to reduce labor expenditure and raise cheaper produce.

Comrades, our objectives in agriculture are dictated by the fundamental interests of communist construction.

We all realize that progress in agriculture is a major condition for the continuous improvement of the standard of living of the people.

The Party is outlining the prospects for agricultural progress in the coming twenty years. It envisages a very substantial increase in the output of grain, meat, milk and other farm produce. The accomplishment of this task will call for higher labor productivity in all branches of agriculture, labor heroism, a high standard of organization, the provision of collective and state farms with modern machinery, and better utilization of machines. It is important for the workers and collective farmers, for Communist and non-Party people, for all Soviet men and women, to realize that the groundwork for the effective implementation of this great plan is being laid today through the fulfillment of the Seven-Year Plan. By fulfilling the Seven-Year Plan, we shall lay a solid foundation on which we can achieve further progress in agriculture.

The further development of agricultural production is a matter for the entire Party and all Soviet people. It is a height on the road to communism which we must scale by using the whole might of the Soviet system.

#### V. IMPROVEMENT IN THE PEOPLE'S LIVING STANDARDS. THE FLOWERING OF SCIENCE, EDUCATION, LITERATURE AND ART

Comrades, to raise the living standards of the Soviet people, to promote their material and spiritual requirements and meet them ever more fully, is the purpose of



the Party's activity. The socialist system in our country has reached a period of maturity when its potentialities reveal themselves more than ever. The superiority of socialism in rates of economic development is more and more favorably affecting not only material production but consumption as well.

Under socialism the greater the national income, the higher the living standard. In the Soviet Union three-quarters of the national income goes to satisfy the personal requirements of the people. In 1960 the national income of the U.S.S.R. had increased by more than 50 per cent as compared with 1955, and in the last ten years the national income per head of population has increased by 120 per cent. *The national income per capita is increasing much more rapidly than in the highly-developed capitalist countries.*

On the basis of the growth of the national income the real incomes of factory, office and professional workers per employed person increased by 27 per cent in the past five years, and those of collective farmers by 33 per cent. Under the Seven-Year Plan the real incomes of factory, office and professional workers and collective farmers will increase by as much as 40 per cent.

We have set ourselves the task of outstripping the more advanced capitalist countries in their standard of living. We have in mind here those spheres in which our country must overtake and surpass the capitalist countries. In many respects the Soviet Union has already achieved indisputable advantages over the most highly-developed capitalist countries. Free education, free medical services, the absence of unemployment, not to mention many other

benefits enjoyed under socialism, have long since become a usual thing for Soviet people, something they take for granted. These, comrades, constitute the greatest gains, and our people are justly proud of them. *In this sphere we have long since left the capitalist countries behind.* Much effort will be required of the working class in the capitalist countries, they will have to wage a stubborn struggle before they will be able to win such gains as these.

Consumption is steadily growing in the Soviet Union. In 1960 the volume of retail trade through state and co-operative shops increased by more than 50 per cent over that of 1955; in the first three years of the Seven-Year Plan the rate of growth of trade was higher than envisaged by the control figures. Soviet people are consuming more and more meat, milk and other dairy produce and sugar; sales of clothes, footwear, furniture, household and other goods are increasing. The popular demand for these goods, however, is still not being fully met. The lack of certain goods in the shops is a serious criticism of our work. In order to satisfy the growing requirements of the population the Party and the Government have decided to increase the output of consumer goods.

The time has come when we must raise the question point blank of achieving a marked improvement in the quality of all goods. The variety of goods in our shops is often not wide enough, although the warehouses are often chockful of "unmarketable goods." What kinds of goods are these? Poor-quality goods which the buyer won't purchase. The demand for footwear, for instance, is not being fully met, although footwear to the value of more than 1,500 million rubles has accumulated in warehouses. Or



take the quality of clothes. Everybody agrees that Soviet fabrics wear well, but there is criticism of the styles and finish of suits and coats. All too often poor-quality articles are made out of good material, and then big sums are spent on removing the defects. Here I might cite an old saying:

"Akulya, why are you sewing this crooked?"

"It doesn't matter, Mother, I'll rip it anyway."

How much longer will certain of our executives work after the fashion of an Akulya?

The work of the light industry enterprises has to be improved, and it should be seen to that all consumer goods are not only of high quality, but also attractive.

In its efforts to better the life of the people, the Party devotes much attention to questions that are basic in ensuring rising living standards. The measures to effect a general normalization of the wages and salaries of factory, office and professional workers are being completed, and the minimum is being raised. In the past five years about 4,000 million rubles have been spent on raising wages and salaries. At the same time excesses in the payment for some categories of labor have been done away with.

At the present time nearly forty million factory and office workers are receiving wages according to the new rates of payment. Within the next few years the new rates will be introduced throughout the national economy. It is planned to raise the wages of such a substantial segment of the intelligentsia as teachers and doctors. During the remaining period of the Seven-Year Plan minimum wages will be raised to 50-60 rubles. Also the average salaries and wages of factory, office and professional

workers will be increased.

The working people are receiving a new, very tangible addition to their wages as a result of the measures abolishing taxes. Beginning with October 1, 1960, when the first stage in the abolition of taxes began, this addition per year already totalled 360 million rubles. The second stage of the abolition of taxes, which began on October 1 of the current year, will give the working people an extra 400 million rubles annually. By the end of 1965 the population will be tax free. *The abolition of taxes will be a signal social gain of the Soviet people.*

In 1960 all factory, office and professional workers went over to a seven- or six-hour working day. The working week was thus reduced by six and a half hours with no reduction but even increases in wages. Within the next few years it is intended to introduce a 40-hour working week for all factory and office workers and professional people now working a seven-hour day.

Wage increases and the reduction of the working day and working week must go hand in hand with a growth in the productivity of labor. The higher the productivity of labor the greater are society's opportunities to improve the living standard of the people. *All for society, society for all—such is our hard and fast principle.*

Important measures have been taken in recent times to improve the pension system. The average amount of old-age pensions has been more than doubled; disability pensions and pensions in the case of loss of the breadwinner have been increased. State expenditure on pensions increased from 3,000 million rubles in 1955 to 7,600 million rubles in 1961. In 1963 the minimum amounts of pen-



sions will again be raised. As the collective-farm economy develops pensions for collective farmers will be introduced on an ever wider scale.

Housing development in the Soviet Union is proceeding on a truly unprecedented scale. The building crane has indeed become the symbol of our times. The 1956-1960 state housing program has been fulfilled. More houses were built in the past five years than in the preceding fifteen years. In other words, comrades, nearly 50 million people, or almost one-quarter of the entire population, have moved into new houses. *In volume and in rates of housing construction the Soviet Union ranks first in the world. In recent years our country has been building twice as many flats per thousand inhabitants as in the United States and France, and more than twice as many as in Britain and Italy.*

But we still have a housing shortage, the housing problem remains acute. The growth of the urban population in the U.S.S.R. during the past few years is considerably in excess of estimates. By the end of the Seven-Year Plan the urban population will have increased by approximately 15 million people more than was expected, which means that more dwellings will be needed. The Central Committee and the Soviet Government are taking measures to accelerate house building. In the remaining four years of the Seven-Year Plan about 400 million sq. meters of housing will be built—60 per cent more than in the period of the fourth and fifth Five-Year Plans taken together. Over four million houses will be built in rural localities. Housing in the countryside calls for special attention. During the past few years more comfortable dwellings,

well-appointed schools, clubs, hospitals and shops are being built in the villages. However, rural housing development is often conducted without proper attention to the prospects of economic advance and improvements in living conditions. Although big funds are allocated for building, houses in the rural localities are all too often scattered, they lack proper modern conveniences. Newly-created communities in the rural areas, especially those of the state farms in the newly-opened lands, should be built as urban-type settlements.

We are doing a lot of building. But we must give thought to another aspect of the matter: sometimes as a result of haste new buildings are put into use with many defects. The working people, naturally, are highly annoyed at this, and rightly so! Those responsible for such defects in newly-built houses should be rapped over the knuckles. There must be stricter order in the allocation of flats, the general public participating, and priority must be given to those acutely in need.

In the Soviet Union the state has taken upon itself protection of the health of the people. How it is coping with this lofty task is eloquently seen from the fact that the death rate in the U.S.S.R. is the lowest in the world, while longevity is steadily increasing. We must continuously improve health services, promote physical culture and sports, build more hospitals, sanatoria, polyclinics and other medical institutions, especially in the rural areas and the eastern regions of the country.

Communal services are not an unimportant, trivial matter. The mood of people and the productivity of their labor to a large extent depend on living conditions and on



good service. The way to solve this problem is through the establishment of modern, well-equipped shops, canteens, dining-rooms, service establishments and big food factories.

Our Party's policy is imbued with the lofty idea of Communism: *everything for the sake of man, for the benefit of man.*

Should we continue to solve the problem of raising living standards only by direct wage increases and price reductions? Wages and salaries will, of course, for a long time to come continue to be the basic form of material incentive for the worker, and will depend on his labor contribution to social production. But the Soviet citizen is, at the same time, receiving an ever bigger share of material and cultural benefits through public funds.

Today the people's needs are to a great extent being covered by public funds. In 1940 payments and benefits made to the population from public funds totalled 4,200 million rubles, whereas in 1960 the figure was 24,500 million rubles. Under the Seven-Year Plan public consumption funds will increase, allowing for changes that may be introduced, to as much as 40,000 million rubles in 1965. At present over twenty million pensioners are maintained by these funds; nearly four million students in higher, secondary and vocational and technical educational establishments receive state scholarships and hostel accommodations; over 600,000 children in boarding-schools are maintained for the most part by the state. Over seven million factory workers, collective farmers, office employees and their children spend their annual vacations in sanatoria, holiday homes and Young Pioneer camps at the

expense of social insurance and collective-farm funds. About seven million expectant mothers receive benefits from the state. That is how we use our public funds!

Comrades, we have every right to be proud of the fact that Soviet society has become the most highly educated society in the world, and that Soviet science holds leading positions in the more important fields of knowledge.

When the first Soviet artificial earth satellite orbited our planet a special committee was set up in the United States to look into the country's educational system. After comparing the two systems the committee arrived at the conclusion that the Soviet system of education is superior. It was at that time, however, that our Party decided on measures to reorganize the school system with a view to giving the pupil a more thorough grounding in the fundamentals of science and linking the school more closely with life.

The experience of this reorganization has confirmed the timeliness and need for the Party's measures. On the whole, the school's ties with real life and production have grown stronger, the labor training of the pupils has improved. Secondary-school graduates are working successfully in the economy. The number of schools for young workers and rural youth is growing from year to year. Hundreds of thousands of young people are studying in their spare time.

Much has been accomplished in this sphere. But there are aspects of a bureaucratic attitude in the reorganization of the schools. Not all educational workers have understood their tasks in the field of polytechnical education.

New types of educational establishments, boarding-



schools and extended day-care schools, have been set up in our country and have received public approval. About 1,500,000 pupils are attending these educational establishments. In 1965 two and a half million children will be studying in boarding-schools alone.

Universal compulsory eight-year schooling has been introduced in the Soviet Union, and the necessary conditions exist for all those who wish to receive a full secondary education to do so. The next task in the field of education is to introduce universal compulsory secondary education.

The training of the individual in a communist spirit places new and higher demands on schools. Schools must keep pace with the rapid development of modern science and production. The training of teaching personnel must be extended so that there are enough teachers for all schools, and teachers shown every consideration and respect. Factories and collective farms must help the schools reorganize, and help pupils acquire sound knowledge and skills that are needed. More schools must be built, and shifts in the schools must be done away with. This is a formidable task when it is remembered that in 1965 nearly 43 million children will be going to school.

The development of higher and specialized secondary education and vocational training is proceeding hand in hand with the reorganization of the school. Here, too, the purpose is to bring training closer to life, to production. More than half of the day-time students enrolled in the country's higher educational establishments this year have practical production experience. About half a million specialists with a higher education have been graduated by

our evening and correspondence institutes during the past five years.

The Soviet Union trains three times the number of engineers the United States does; in all, there are more than twenty million brain workers in our country. When these figures were made public they caused confusion among the enemies of socialism who had frequently described our society as backward and with a low cultural level. They are now obliged to make an agonizing reappraisal of values; they sometimes have to fall back on stupid inventions. In order to fool people they have spread the tale that the more educated people there will be in the Soviet Union the greater the chances that they will turn away from communism.

What can we say to these ideologists of capitalism? Let them demand from their governments bigger appropriations for public education. According to their way of reasoning, the more educated society is, the more firmly it clings to capitalism. Nobody any longer believes tales of this kind, however, and least of all those who invent them. *Communism gives knowledge to all; it draws its strength and confidence for its progressive movement from this knowledge of the masses, from their high cultural level.*

The flourishing of Soviet science is vivid evidence of this. We have more than 350,000 scientific workers. There are about four thousand research institutions in the country and what is particularly noteworthy is the steep rise in the past five or six years in the number of research institutions in the Union republics. A major role in the development of research in the eastern part of the country is being played by the Siberian branch of the Academy of



Sciences.

Soviet scientists are performing their duty to their country with credit. The achievements of our scientists are widely known in the development of physics, mathematics and cybernetics, in the creation of high-speed computing machines, the elaboration of the chemical theory of chain reactions and the chemistry of polymers, in biology, in the discovery and prospecting of huge mineral deposits, in the development of automation and remote control, radio engineering and electronics, in metallurgy, mechanical engineering, not to mention other fields of science. Soviet scientists also have a number of achievements in the social sciences to their credit.

Soviet scientists are engaged in extensive research on one of the cardinal problems of our day, that of controlling thermonuclear reactions. Their investigations and cooperation with scientists of other countries have won wide recognition. Continued promotion of thermonuclear research in our country will accelerate the solution of the problem of the peaceful utilization of nuclear energy for the good of man. The successes scored by Soviet science in the exploration of outer space have ushered in a magnificent era in the advance of man's scientific knowledge. The Soviet Union launched the world's first artificial earth satellite. Soviet space rockets were the first to overcome the force of earth's gravitation and orbit in interplanetary space. We were the first to place our pennant on the moon and to photograph its hidden side. The Soviet citizens Yuri Gagarin and Herman Titov, delegates to the Twenty-Second Party Congress, were the first to venture forth from their cradle, the earth, and perform triumphant flights into

space.

We have every reason to be proud of the great achievements of Soviet science. Allow me, comrades, from this high rostrum to express our heartfelt gratitude to all Soviet scientists, and to wish them new, big victories for the glory of their Soviet land and the triumph of communism!

The Soviet Union's successes in the conquest of outer space have compelled the capitalist world to take a different view of the achievements of socialist society, of the advance of science and industry in the U.S.S.R. The U.S. statesman Chester Bowles, for instance, stated that until the first Soviet sputnik almost no one had questioned America's industrial, military and scientific superiority. Then suddenly there was the Sputnik ringing the earth, and millions began to ask whether communism was not the winning side after all.

So it is, Mr. Bowles. Even that twin soul of yours, Werner von Braun, the German rocket specialist now working in the U.S., has had to admit that the Russians have created, on the basis of their philosophy, a system which assures them these successes, and that, unfortunately, the system he is living under does not make it possible to achieve the successes scored by Russia. He could not have put it better, comrades.

Today, when our country is putting into effect magnificent plans for communist construction, new and more majestic tasks confront Soviet science. Scientific investigations must be carried out more purposefully, young forces must be given broader access to science. Our task is to win leading positions in all the more important fields of



science and technology.

Comrades, Soviet literature and art have won immense prestige throughout the world for their rich ideological content. The art of the Soviet writer, composer and artist, of the cinema and theater worker, has won high recognition. In the past few years new works of literature and art have been produced which give a faithful and vivid picture of socialist reality.

The achievements of our art and its traditions are of tremendous significance; they mark an important stage in the aesthetic development of mankind. The experience of our country has proved that socialism alone offers the broadest scope for free creative endeavor in art, for the active participation of the masses in the creation of cultural values. Soviet art is enriching the spiritual treasure-house of mankind, is blazing the trail to the triumph of communist culture.

Lenin said that the road to a common culture in a communist society lies through the thriving of the national culture of every people that have liberated themselves from capitalist oppression. Through intercourse within the community of the socialist nations new features common to Soviet culture as a whole emerge, develop and bring mutual benefits. Our task is to give thoughtful support and encouragement to the promotion of the international unity of the socialist cultures. The people expect and are confident that our writers and art workers will produce works in which they will fittingly portray the present heroic era of the revolutionary transformation of society. The Party proceeds from the fact that art is called upon to educate people mainly by depict-

ing positive examples from life, to educate them in the spirit of communism. The power of Soviet literature and art, of the method of socialist realism, lies in their faithful depiction of the basic features of reality. Serious attention should be paid to the aesthetic education of Soviet people, to moulding their artistic tastes. Lack of taste should be resolutely combated, no matter what form it takes, whether it is a fad for formalism or a vulgar concept of "beauty" in art, in life and in the home.

The most beautiful thing in life is the labor of man, and what more noble task than to portray faithfully the new man, the toiler, the richness of his spiritual interests, his fight against all that is obsolescent. We should give Soviet people interesting works which reveal the romance of communist labor, which spur their initiative and perseverance in achieving their aims.

Our Party is confident that Soviet literature and art will continue to be a reliable weapon of the Soviet people, a good and intelligent counsellor in their life.

## VI. DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALIST RELATIONS INTO COMMUNIST RELATIONS. PROMOTION OF SOVIET DEMOCRACY. SOCIALISM AND FREEDOM OF THE INDIVIDUAL

Comrades, in carrying out the decisions of the Twentieth Congress the Party has paid considerable attention to the development and perfection of socialist production



relations and other social relations. Our Party believes this to be the principal path of transition to communist social relations—the most perfect type of relations between free, harmoniously developed and socially conscious people, relations that are based on friendship and fellowship. We might here recall that the first international workers' organization founded under Marx was called the International Workingmen's Association. The word "associate" expresses identity of views, equality, fraternity, respect and co-operation.

Under socialism the principle "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work" has been put into effect. In order to advance to the communist principle "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs" time and certain definite conditions are needed. Communism's principles are lofty and inspiring. We all want them to become a part of our life as soon as possible.

Why then are we not introducing these principles right away, why does the Party need two decades to build, in the main, a communist society? Are we not taking too much time in implementing communist principles? No, comrades. We would, of course, like to introduce these principles as soon as possible, but the mere subjective desire is not enough. We must proceed from objective conditions, take into account the laws of social development.

The transition to communist principles is possible, but not before the material and technical basis has been created, not before people have reached a high degree of consciousness, not before the potentialities of socialism have been revealed in full. There is no other path to com-

munist social relations than through the development and perfection of socialist relations.

During the past few years the Party has carried out a number of important socio-economic measures in all spheres of Soviet life. *These measures have revolutionary significance not only because they have helped consolidate our material and technical basis, but also because they have played an important part in developing social relations and in bringing the two forms of socialist property closer together.*

The new features in the character of labor and in the relations between workers are becoming increasingly evident. The outstanding feature is that the habit of working conscientiously, to the best of their abilities, is taking shape among growing sections of the working people. For many of them work is no longer simply a means of earning a livelihood, but a social calling, a moral duty. Recall the example of Valentina Gaganova who voluntarily left an advanced work team to work with a team that was lagging behind. She was prompted not by some selfish motives but by a high sense of duty and devotion to our common cause. Gaganova's example was followed by many others.

The Party always encourages the desire of Soviet people to learn to work and live in a communist way. We attach great importance to the movement of communist shock teams and workers in production. As time goes on, practice will undoubtedly suggest other, even more perfected forms of socialist emulation.

Social relations are changing also in the sphere of the distribution of material and cultural benefits. In what way?



Primarily, it is to be seen in the continued development of the socialist principles of distribution according to labor, this being an essential requisite for the transition to the communist principle of distribution according to need. The Party consistently implements the principle of material incentive in work and emphatically rejects wage levelling. Our premise is that until we have an abundance of material values and work has not become a prime necessity of the individual, there are no grounds for discarding the socialist principle of distribution, for relaxing public and state supervision over the amount of labor and the amount of consumption.

The experience of socialist construction in our country has borne out the correctness of Lenin's principle of material incentive. Lenin's genius is that he was able profoundly to analyze and to interpret social phenomena, to find the right solutions for every specific period in socialist construction.

Recall how Lenin with the foresight and boldness so characteristic of him called for a fundamental change in policy immediately after the Civil War, how he switched the lever from the policy of War Communism to the New Economic Policy.

The transition to NEP was not easy, it caused a number of difficulties within the Party itself. Some Communists dropped out of the Party, they did not understand the essence of the new policy. Lenin was well aware of the difficulties involved but this did not deter him from introducing NEP, and the Party as a whole supported Lenin's policy in the fight for the victory of socialism. If Lenin's policy had not triumphed at that time we would not have

been able to build socialism. It was necessary to strengthen the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, to get the workers of town and country materially interested in developing the economy, in building socialism. The egalitarian principle was replaced by the principle of payment according to the quality and quantity of work done.

Lenin teaches us to be realistic in politics. We could draw a picture of the most rosy prospects, plan the highest rates of economic development, but if the working people themselves do not realize the need for the reconstruction of society, if they are not materially interested, then no plans will be of any avail. To ignore the principle of material incentive means to be guided by purely subjective considerations, means skipping a definite stage of development, means damaging socialist and communist construction.

We should always learn from Lenin how to work with people, taking them as they are. We cannot afford to be subjectivists in politics, to act according to the rule "I do as I please." We must closely observe the life of the people, study it, heed the voice of the people. In the combination of the material with the moral incentive the Party sees the true road towards a life of plenty and distribution according to need which it will reach without fail, the road to the triumph of communist labor.

The idea that abundance implies the unrestricted growth of personal property is an idea that is alien to us, to communism. Personal ownership by the toiler of a large number of things, as a form of personal consumption, is not at variance with the principles of communist construction as long as it keeps within reasonable bounds and does not



become an end in itself. But under certain circumstances excessive personal property may become, and frequently does become, an obstacle to social progress, a breeding-ground of private-property instincts; it may lead to petty bourgeois degeneration. What happens is that the individual falls a prey to things and becomes a slave to them.

Communists reject the ethics of bourgeois society where the concept "mine" is the supreme principle, and where the prosperity of some is possible only at the expense of the ruin of others, where the corrupting psychology of egoism, greed and a lust for money are cultivated. To the world of private property the Communists counterpose public property, and to bourgeois individualism, the principle of fellowship and collectivism.

The progress of all aspects of socialist production relations is leading logically to the gradual obliteration of the distinctions between town and country, between the classes and the social groups in Soviet society, and to the implementation, on an ever wider scale, of communist principles in the relations between workers, peasants and intellectuals. The two friendly classes of our society, the working class and the collective-farm peasantry, are drawing closer together, their unbreakable alliance is growing still stronger. The Soviet peasantry is coming level with the working class in skills and working conditions, and in cultural and technical standards. The peasants enjoy the same political rights as the workers, the basic interests of the two are identical. In all essentials the distinctions between the working class and the peasantry have been eliminated; the process of the complete elimination of class distinctions will now proceed at an increasingly rapid pace.

The basic distinctions between mental and physical labor are being eradicated on the basis of technical progress and the higher cultural and technical standards of the working people. Today the labor of the worker and the collective farmer, armed with advanced technology and knowledge, combines elements of both physical and mental work. Forty per cent of the country's workers and over 23 per cent of its collective farmers now have a secondary or higher education. Nowadays it is often difficult to distinguish the front-rank worker from the engineer, the front-rank collective farmer from the agronomist.

Thus, *class relations in our country have now entered a new stage of their development*. Proletarian democracy is becoming socialist democracy of the whole people. We note with great satisfaction that we are nearing the goal set by Lenin: to enlist all citizens without exception in the work of governing the state. Tens of millions of Soviet people take an active part in the administration of the country through the Soviets and their committees, through the elected bodies of the co-operatives, the trade unions, the Komsomol and other mass organizations, and perform public duties.

*Every Soviet citizen should take an active part in the management of public affairs—that is our slogan, our task.*

While laying the prime accent on the task of steadily perfecting the state bodies and reorganizing the Soviets of Working People's Deputies into bodies of public self-government, our Party will continue to follow the course of handing over an ever larger number of government functions to mass organizations. It is important here, however, to take into account the level of development of the respec-



tive mass organizations, the extent of their independent activity. Our purpose is not just a formal change of signboards, but a fundamental reorganization.

The transfer of many important state functions to mass organizations, with persuasion and education gradually becoming the principal method of regulating the life of Soviet society, does not imply relaxed supervision of strict observance of Soviet law, labor discipline and moral behavior. *We must educate people to have a respect for Soviet law. The power of the law and the power of public influence must be made full use of.*

Our Party has been working and will continue to work on the development of social relations in all spheres of life. Not only economics and politics, but also the everyday life, culture, psychology and consciousness of people offer a wide field for shaping the new relations—relations of friendship, fellowship, mutual assistance and collectivism. Real freedom and the all-round development of the individual, the harmonious combination of personal interests and the interests of the whole of society are possible only in a socialist society, on the basis of the new relations between people.

Our ideological enemies keep reiterating that communism inevitably brings the individual into conflict with society and suppresses his personality. True, the enemies of socialism admit our successes in the sphere of material production, but hasten to assert that they have allegedly been achieved by infringing on the liberties and rights of the individual. The imperialists measure things according to their own standards; to them personal freedom means anarchistically counterposing personal interests to public interests.

the individual to the collective. Their moral code is: "Eat lest you be eaten."

The criterion of real freedom and happiness is a social system which frees man from the yoke of exploitation, gives him broad democratic liberties and the opportunity to live in fitting conditions, a system that inspires him with confidence in the morrow, unfetters his individual abilities and talents and makes him feel that his labor is for the good of society. Socialism is such a social system. *Of all the values created by the socialist system, the greatest one is the new man—the active builder of communism.* The Soviet people are demonstrating what the really free man is capable of.

The ideologists of imperialism call the world of capitalism the "free world." But what has capitalism to offer in place of the real freedom, the growth of the economy, prosperity, culture and the development of the personality in the Soviet Union? Freedom for the rich to exploit and rob the poor, "freedom" from work for millions of people, the growth of taxation, an unrestrained arms drive, racial discrimination, the dictatorship of the money bag, the banning of democratic organizations? This is anything but a free world. Just the reverse. It is a world of slavery and exploitation.

The ideologists of imperialism call the countries of capitalism an "open society," and the Soviet Union a "closed society." We quite agree that our socialist state is closed to exploitation and robbery by monopoly capital, to unemployment, to the corrupting ideology of decadence. The imperialist gentry would, of course, like to see the doors of our socialist society open to espionage. But our



doors are tightly closed to subversive activities against socialism.

Our society is open to all people from abroad who come to us with an open heart. It is open to honest trade, to the exchange of scientific, technical and cultural achievements, to truthful information. If we are to speak of an "iron curtain" then surely this "curtain" exists in the world of capitalism which, though it calls itself the "free world," from time to time shuts its doors, in sheer fright, to Soviet cooks or to chessplayers. There was a case when a state which calls itself the most "open" was afraid to admit Soviet dancers. Perhaps they were afraid that the foundations of the capitalist world would give way under the pressure of the Russian dance.

We have long since proposed to the capitalist world that it compete with us not in the arms drive but in improving the life of the working people. We are positive that capitalism would be the loser in such a competition, just as we are positive that ultimately all people will make the right choice, will prefer the genuinely free world of communism to the so-called "free world" of capitalism.

Comrades, when the Party mapped out its far-reaching measures to develop the country's economy there were outcries from the bourgeois politicians and economists that the Communists were sacrificing the vital interests of people to heavy industry, that production in the Soviet Union exists only for the sake of production. What a malicious slander of socialism! *Not production for the sake of production, but production for the sake of man is the sacred principle adhered to by the Party and the Soviet state in all activities.* Everybody, even the most incorrigible

skeptics, can again see for themselves that our Party always honestly carries out its obligations to the people.

In the sphere of internal policy our Party sets before the Communists, before the Soviet people the following tasks for the immediate future:

1. All the people's efforts must be directed to fulfilling or overfulfilling the Seven-Year Plan, an important stage in the creation of the material and technical basis of communism. We must continue to raise the level of production and keep the country's defense potential up to the mark. As we advance to new heights in the economic development of the Soviet homeland, we should remember that only continuous progress will assure us absolute superiority and bring closer the day of our great victory in the peaceful economic competition with capitalism.

2. There must be accelerated technical progress in all branches of socialist industry, especially in electric power development, chemistry, mechanical engineering, metallurgy and the fuel industry. We must more widely promote specialization of enterprises, secure the comprehensive mechanization and automation of industrial processes, accelerate the application in production of the achievements of advanced science and technology, the production experience of innovators. Continuous growth in labor productivity, reduction of production costs, improvement in the quality of products, must be the law for all Soviet enterprises.

3. Industry and agriculture must achieve a level which will make it possible to more fully satisfy the needs of the population in manufactured goods and foodstuffs. The money that will accumulate as a result of the overfulfill-



ment of industrial plans is to be directed mainly to agriculture, the light and food industries and to other industries producing consumer goods.

4. Development of agriculture is the concern of the whole Party, of the whole people. Party and governmental bodies must daily concern themselves with agricultural production, draw on the experience of the leading collective and state farms. It is necessary to ensure fulfillment and overfulfillment of the Seven-Year Plan targets in the production and purchases of grain, cotton, sugar beet, oilseeds, tea and other crops, meat, milk, wool, eggs and other farm products.

5. There must be further advance along the highroad of cultural and social development, and continued promotion of Soviet science, public education, literature and art. The living standards of the people must be raised and the measures to normalize wages and salaries and reduce the working day and working week must be completed. Housing development must proceed at a rapid rate, trade, public catering, medical and other public services improved, pensions increased.

Our country is in the full tide of its creative endeavor. All the peoples of the multi-national Soviet Union regard the building of communism as their common affair, and are making their invaluable contribution to our common victory. Realization of the grandeur of the tasks we are tackling multiplies the efforts of Soviet people manifold, makes them more demanding of themselves, more intolerant of shortcomings, stagnation and inertness. We must fully utilize the vast motive forces latent in the socialist system.

## *Part Three*

### THE LENINIST PARTY IS THE ORGANIZER OF THE STRUGGLE FOR THE VICTORY OF COMMUNISM

Comrades, we owe our great achievements in both foreign and domestic policy to the firm and consistent implementation of the Party's general Leninist line, which found forceful expression in the historic decisions of the Twentieth Congress. The Central Committee considers it necessary to report that the policy adopted by the Twentieth Congress has triumphed. Prompted by reality and imbued with a Leninist revolutionary spirit, that policy has become the cause of all Soviet people. The Party has strengthened its bonds with the people and, backed by their tremendous energy, has enhanced the greatness of the Soviet Union.

The Extraordinary Twenty-First Congress was a landmark on the road of our progress; it had great historic importance, for it adopted the Seven-Year Economic De-



velopment Plan and proclaimed the Soviet Union's entry into the period of full-scale communist construction.

The Twenty-Second Congress of the C.P.S.U. is destined to play an epoch-making role, for it will consider and adopt the new Program of the Party, a program for the construction of a communist society, a program that will become the banner and weapon of the Party and the people in the struggle to achieve the triumph of communism.

The Leninist Party of Communists—the flesh and blood of the working class and all working people, their heart and their brain, the exponent of their vital interests and revolutionary will—has travelled a long and difficult road, a road of glory. No other party in the world has been able to accomplish so much in transforming society. You will remember Lenin's prophetic words: "Give us an organization of revolutionaries, and we will overturn Russia." Sixty years have passed since he said that. The world can see today that the Bolsheviks have indeed "overturned" their country; what was tsarist Russia, an economically backward capitalist country, has become a mighty and prosperous socialist power. And today we extend our heartfelt greetings to the old-guard Bolsheviks who for decades waged, as members of the Leninist Party, a courageous revolutionary struggle for the happiness of the people, for socialism. We salute the splendid representatives of that old guard who have been elected delegates to this Congress. Our Party is rightfully proud of the fact that it has fulfilled its first and second programs. By achieving the complete and final victory of socialism in the land of Soviets, our Leninist Party has honorably acquitted itself not only of its national task, but also of its international duty to

the proletarians of all countries, to the world Communist movement.

In the new Program of the C.P.S.U., whose draft was applauded by the Party and all Soviet people in the course of the discussion preceding this Congress, the construction of a communist society is given as our chief and immediate task. Besides the draft of the new Program, this Congress will discuss the draft of the new Party Rules, on which Comrade F. R. Kozlov will report to you. We have always been guided by Lenin's statement that the Program and Rules of our Party are one indivisible whole. The organizational principles laid down in the Rules must guarantee the fulfillment of the Program; they must strengthen the unity and cohesion of the Party, the militant vanguard of the Soviet people in the struggle for communism.

# I. ELIMINATION OF THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE CULT OF THE INDIVIDUAL. PROMOTION OF THE LENINIST STANDARDS OF PARTY ACTIVITY AND PRINCIPLES OF LEADERSHIP. ENHANCEMENT OF THE MILITANCY OF THE PARTY

Comrades, the restoration and development of the Leninist standards of Party activity and principles of leadership have been a paramount aspect of our Party's work in the period under review. The Twentieth Congress, by condemning the cult of the individual as a practice alien to the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, provided vast scope for the



creative energy of the Party and the people. It helped the Party to extend and strengthen its bonds with the people and heighten its militancy.

On the eve of the Twentieth Congress the issue facing us was: either the Party would openly, in Leninist fashion, condemn the errors and distortions committed at the time of the cult of Stalin's person and reject the methods of Party and government leadership that had become an obstacle to progress, or the forces which clung to the old and resisted all that was new and creative would gain the upper hand in the Party. The issue was as crucial as that.

Was it really necessary to criticize so scathingly and so frankly the major errors and grave consequences bound up with the cult of the individual?

Yes, it was. The careful analysis and profound study of a number of records that was undertaken after the exposure of that inveterate enemy and adventurer Beria, fully revealed to the Central Committee the flagrant violations of socialist legality, abuses of power, arbitrary acts and repressive measures that had affected many honest people, including prominent Party and government officials. The Central Committee, which was well aware of its responsibilities to the Party and the people, could not possibly take the line of concealing or hushing up past errors and distortions. Following Lenin's behests, the Central Committee decided to tell the truth about the abuses of power perpetrated at the time of the cult of the individual. It was a moral requirement, the duty of the Party and its leadership. It was a correct decision and it had tremendous importance for the destiny of the Party and for communist construction.

Lenin called on the Party never to conceal its errors but to criticize them openly and rectify them. "The attitude of a political party towards its own mistakes," he wrote, "is one of the most important and surest ways of judging how earnest the party is and how it *in practice* fulfills its obligations towards its *class* and the toiling *masses*. Frankly admitting a mistake, ascertaining the reasons for it, analyzing the conditions which led to it, and thoroughly discussing the means of correcting it—that is the earmark of a serious party; that is the way it should perform its duties, that is the way it should educate and train first the *class*, and then the *masses*."\*

What would have become of the Party and the country had the cult of the individual not been condemned, had its harmful consequences not been removed and the Leninist standards of Party and government activity not restored? The result would have been a cleavage between Party and people, grave violations of Soviet democracy and revolutionary legality, slower economic progress, a lower rate of communist construction and hence a deterioration of the people's standard of living. In the sphere of international relations, the result would have been a weakening of Soviet positions on the world scene and a worsening of relations with other countries, which would have had dire consequences. That is why criticism of the cult of the individual and the elimination of its consequences were of the utmost political and practical importance.

Marxism-Leninism has always severely condemned all

\*V.I. Lenin, *Left-Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder*, p. 49.



manifestations of the cult of the individual, which it regards as alien to the spirit of the proletarian revolutionary movement, of communism. Marx, Engels and Lenin saw the people as the real makers of history; they stressed the leading and organizing role of the working-class party. Marxism-Leninism does not deny the important role of leaders of the working class, but it emphatically opposes all glorification, to say nothing of the deification, of any particular person. Glorification of any one person inevitably pushes the people and the Party into the background and thus reduces their role and significance.

The Soviet people, led by the Party, have by their labor and heroic struggle made great progress in socialist construction. They triumphed in the Great Patriotic War against fascism. But you will remember that, at the time of the cult of the individual, all the achievements and victories of the Party and the people were attributed to one man. Stalin, of course, had great services to the Party and the Communist movement to his credit, and we give him his due. But it was wrong to associate all the victories of the Party and the people with one individual. It was a gross misrepresentation of the real state of affairs.

The Twentieth Congress restored justice; it put an end to distortions and emphasized the great role of the working class and the people as a whole, as the leading and guiding force in the struggle for communism. The Congress instructed the Central Committee to implement measures that would completely abolish the cult of the individual, remove its consequences in all spheres of Party, government and ideological activity, and ensure strict enforcement of the standards of Party work and the principle of collec-

tive leadership elaborated by Lenin.

In its principled and firm criticism of the cult of the individual, our Party took guidance from Lenin's directions and from his testament. It is well known that while Lenin thought highly of Stalin, he also saw his shortcomings and, indeed, his defects. Being concerned for the destiny of the Party and the Soviet state, Lenin in December 1922, that is, shortly after Stalin was elected General Secretary of the Central Committee, wrote in a message to the forthcoming Party congress:

"Comrade Stalin, having become General Secretary, has concentrated boundless authority in his hands, and I am not sure whether he will always be capable of using that authority with sufficient prudence . . . Stalin is too harsh, and this defect of his, while quite tolerable in our midst and in dealings among us Communists, is intolerable in a General Secretary. That is why I suggest the comrades think over a way of shifting Stalin from that post and appointing someone who differs from Comrade Stalin only in one respect, namely, in that he has the advantage of being more tolerant, more loyal, more polite and considerate, less self-willed, etc."

As you see, Lenin knew very well that Stalin's negative qualities were likely to do much harm to the Party and the state. Unfortunately, Lenin's warning and advice were not acted upon in good time, with the result that the Party and the country had to pass through many difficulties stemming from the cult of the individual. At its Twentieth Congress, the Party subjected this cult to devastating criticism. Carrying the Congress decisions into effect, it put an end to distortions and errors, and drew up measures pre-



cluding the recurrence of such practices. It was a courageous decision attesting to the political maturity of our Party and its Central Committee.

The Party realized, of course, that the errors and distortions, and the abuses of power laid bare, might arouse a certain bitterness and even discontent within the Party and among the people, that they would cause some damage and setbacks and give rise to temporary difficulties for the C.P.S.U. and the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties. But the Party boldly faced the difficulties; honestly and frankly it told the people the whole truth, being deeply convinced that the people would appreciate its line. Nor was the Party mistaken. Our advance to communism has gathered speed. Our carriage is now more erect, our breathing freer, and our vision clearer. Life within the country is making rapid progress. Our industry, farming, science and culture have scored big new successes. As we know, millions of Soviet men and women are playing an increasing part in the administration of government and public affairs.

The Soviet Communists may well declare proudly that they have upheld the honor and dignity of the Leninist Party, whose prestige has grown immeasurably, and that the world Communist movement has reached a higher stage. Today our Party is united more solidly than ever.

The Leninist policy formulated by the Twentieth Congress had at first to be implemented in the face of fierce resistance from anti-Party elements, from zealous adherents of the methods and practices prevailing at the time of the cult of the individual, from revisionists and dogmatists. The Leninist line of the Party was opposed by a factional

anti-Party group consisting of Molotov, Kaganovich, Malenkov, Voroshilov, Bulganin, Pervukhin, Saburov, and Shepilov, who joined them later.

At the beginning it was Molotov, Kaganovich, Malenkov and Voroshilov who bitterly resisted the Party line aimed at condemning the cult of the individual, at fostering inner-Party democracy, condemning and rectifying all abuses of power and exposing those directly responsible for the repressive measures. That stand of theirs was no accident, for they are personally responsible for many instances of wholesale repression of Party, government, economic, military and Komsomol personnel and for other practices of a similar nature, which occurred at the time of the cult of the individual. At first the group constituted a negligible minority on the Central Committee Presidium.

But when the Party set out to restore the Leninist standards of Party and government activity and to fulfill such pressing tasks as the development of new lands, the reorganization of management in industry and building, the extension of the rights of the Union republics, the improvement of the living standards of the people and the restoration of revolutionary legality, the factional group stepped up its anti-Party subversion and began to recruit supporters within the Presidium of the Central Committee. The group was joined by Bulganin, Pervukhin and Saburov, and later by Shepilov. Realizing that they had succeeded in throwing together a numerical majority on the Central Committee Presidium, the members of the anti-Party group launched an open attack seeking to change the policy in the Party and country, a policy laid down by the Twentieth Congress.



After reaching agreement at their clandestine gatherings the factionalists demanded an extraordinary meeting of the Presidium. They expected to carry out their anti-Party schemes and seize leadership in the Party and the country. They wanted to confront the members of the Central Committee and the Party as a whole with an accomplished fact. But the factionalists had miscalculated. On hearing of the factional acts of the anti-Party group within the Presidium, those Central Committee members who were then in Moscow demanded that a plenary meeting of the Central Committee be convened immediately.

The Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee held in June 1957 resolutely exposed the anti-Party group and routed it ideologically. It demonstrated the political maturity and solid unity of the Central Committee, based on the Leninist line of the Twentieth Congress. Ideologically defeated in the course of the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee and faced with unanimous condemnation by the Meeting, the members of the anti-Party group admitted that there had been collusion among them and that their anti-Party activity was harmful. Comrade Voroshilov admitted his errors in a speech at the meeting, saying that he had been "misled by the factionalists," that he fully realized his errors and emphatically condemned them, just as he condemned the entire subversive activity of the anti-Party group.

As you know, the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee passed its decision on the anti-Party group unanimously; the members of that group, too, voted for it, with the exception of Molotov, who abstained. Afterwards, when the results of the Plenary Meeting were being discussed by

the primary Party organization, Molotov stated that he, too, considered the decision of the Plenary Meeting correct and accepted it.

The struggle against the anti-Party group was a sharp political struggle over principles, a struggle between the new and the old. The point at issue was whether our Party should continue the Leninist policy outlined by the Twentieth Congress or whether the methods typical of the period of the cult of the individual, methods condemned by the entire Party, would be revived.

The struggle was complicated by the fact that the line of the Party, and the course adopted by the Twentieth Congress, was opposed by a group of political leaders some of whom had for a long time held prominent positions in the Party or the government. There have been many cases in history of particular leaders proving their worth at a certain period in their lives and playing a notable role but later stopping short in their tracks, as it were, and gradually fading away.

The reasons for this phenomenon may vary: some people become exhausted; others lose touch with reality, become conceited and do not work properly; still others turn out to be unprincipled, spineless people who have adapted themselves to circumstances and who lack loyalty in the struggle for the Party's cause. Meanwhile, in the course of the struggle, new political leaders emerge; they oppose all that hampers the development of the new, and overcome the resistance of the old. It is something akin to the phenomenon astronomers call light from extinct stars. Certain stars, which are very far removed from the earth, seem to shine on even though they have been extinct for a long



time. The trouble with some people who find themselves in the position of stars on the social horizon is that they imagine they continue to radiate light even though they have long since become nothing but smoldering embers. And that is exactly what happened to certain political leaders who began a factionalist, anti-Party struggle.

The decisions of the June Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee won the unanimous approval of the entire Party and all Soviet people. Somewhat later, in October 1957, the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee firmly repelled attempts by the former Defense Minister, Zhukov, to take an adventurous course intended to dissociate the Armed Forces from the Party and oppose the Soviet Army to the Party leadership. The Party cast aside the bankrupt factionalists, the scheming careerists, and closed its ranks; it strengthened its bonds with the people and rallied all forces for the implementation of its general line.

The course adopted by the Twentieth Congress was applauded by the world Communist movement and by the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties. This found expression in decisions passed by congresses of the fraternal parties, as well as in other records of those parties, and in the documents of the meetings of representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties in 1957 and 1960.

To cite an example: the Statement of the Moscow Meeting of 1960 said: "The historic decisions of the Twentieth Congresses of the C.P.S.U. . . have initiated a new stage in the world Communist movement, and have promoted its development on the basis of Marxism-Leninism."

I must say, however, that our Party's policy aimed at eliminating the harmful consequences of the cult of the

individual did not, as it became obvious afterwards, meet with due understanding on the part of the leaders of the Albanian Party of Labor. Indeed, they began to oppose that policy.

Everyone knows that until recently the relations between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Albania, and between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Albanian Party of Labor, were good and friendly. The peoples of our country were giving Albania all-round disinterested help to enable her to develop the economy and carry on socialist construction. It has always been our sincere desire, as it is now, that Albania should be a prosperous socialist republic, and her people happy and enjoying all the benefits of a new life.

For many years the Albanian leaders signified their complete agreement with the Central Committee of our Party and the Soviet Government on all matters pertaining to the world Communist movement. They repeatedly voiced support for the course adopted by the Twentieth Congress. Enver Hoxha, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labor, mentioned this in his speeches at the Twentieth and Twenty-First Congresses of our Party. The Third Congress of the Albanian Party of Labor, held shortly after the Twentieth Congress, fully approved of the criticism levelled at the cult of the individual, as well as of the steps taken to eliminate the harmful consequences of that cult.

We Soviet people believed the Albanian leaders and held that there was mutual understanding and unity of views between our Party and the Albanian Party of Labor.

The facts show, however, that the Albanian leaders have



lately reversed their policy for no apparent reason, despite their previous assurances and contrary to the decisions of the congress of their own Party, and have set out to seriously worsen their relations with our Party, with our country. They have begun to depart from the common agreed line of the Communist movement of the whole world on major issues of the day, something which became particularly noticeable in the middle of last year.

The Albanian leaders no longer conceal their disapproval of the course adopted by our Party with a view to completely eliminating the harmful consequences of the cult of Stalin's person, to severely condemning abuses of power and re-establishing the Leninist standards of Party and government activity.

It would appear that in their hearts the Albanian leaders disagreed with the conclusions of the 1957 and 1960 meetings of the fraternal parties, which as we all know approved of the decisions of the Twentieth Congress and our Party's policy directed towards eliminating the harmful consequences of the cult of the individual. This stand of the Albanian leaders is due to the fact that, to our deep regret, they are themselves using the same methods as were current in our country at the time of the cult of the individual.

It is with concern for the destinies of the heroic Albanian people that we are watching events in Albania. We are pained to see that rank-and-file Communists in Albania, and the Albanian people as a whole, who have a vital interest in friendship and co-operation with all the socialist countries, have to pay for the erroneous policy of the Albanian leaders. We are deeply concerned about the situation and have never stopped our earnest search for ways

and means of overcoming the divergencies that have arisen.

The policy elaborated by the Twentieth Congress of our Party is a Leninist policy, and we cannot make a concession on this fundamental point either to the Albanian leaders or to anyone else. To depart from the course adopted by the Twentieth Congress would amount to ignoring the wise directions of Lenin, who discerned the danger of a cult of Stalin's person when it was still in embryo. It would amount to disregarding the costly lessons of history and forgetting the price which our Party had to pay because it had not acted in good time on the warning given by its great leader.

The Albanian leaders, who oppose the course adopted by the Twentieth Congress, are now trying to pull our Party back to practices which they like but which will never recur in our country. Our Party will press forward with determination the policy of its Twentieth Congress, a policy which has withstood the test of time. No one can divert us from the Leninist road.

If the Albanian leaders hold dear the interests of their own people and of socialist construction in Albania, and if they really want friendship with the C.P.S.U. and the other fraternal parties, they must renounce their erroneous views and revert to the path of unity and close co-operation within the fraternal family which is the socialist community, to the path of unity with the world Communist movement as a whole.

As regards our Party, it will continue, in keeping with its internationalist duty, to do all in its power for Albania to march shoulder to shoulder with all the socialist countries.

From the rostrum of this Congress we declare that the



purity of Marxism-Leninism and an uncompromising attitude to all distortions of its great principles are law for our Party. Communists place the cause of the revolution, the cause of the people, above all else, and its leaders are worthy of the name only when they express the vital interests of the working people and follow the right path. Such leaders are steeled in the course of the struggle; they gain prestige by serving the people and the communist cause; they serve the people and must be subject to control by the people.

Comrades, in our Party every major issue of domestic and foreign policy is discussed collectively, and the decision taken is an expression of the collective experience of the Party. This is genuine implementation of Leninist principles. It has become the rule for the whole Party membership and the people to discuss all the questions submitted for the consideration of plenary meetings of the Central Committee and sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. The measures taken to restore revolutionary legality, promote Party and Soviet democracy, extend the rights and increase the role of local Party and government bodies, and encourage the creative initiative of the working people have yielded good fruit.

The Central Committee has taken special care to ensure the regular convening of all elective bodies, beginning with Party congresses and Central Committee plenary meetings. We know how very regularly Party congresses were held in Lenin's lifetime. In the difficult first seven years of Soviet power they were convened every year, and they discussed the main tasks of the Party and the young Soviet state. In the period of the cult of the individual that sys-

tem was grossly violated; following the Eighteenth Congress no congresses were convened for almost fourteen years, though the country had gone through the Great Patriotic War and a period of great and strenuous effort to rehabilitate the national economy. Plenary meetings of the Central Committee of the Party were very few and far between. Such a situation was conducive to abuses of power and gave certain leaders an opportunity to put themselves beyond the control of the Party and the people.

Such things do not and cannot exist in the Party today. In the nine years since the Nineteenth Congress, the Twentieth, the Extraordinary Twenty-First and the present Twenty-Second Congress of the Party have been convened. Plenary meetings of the Central Committee, which are called at regular intervals, examine the more important problems of the life of the Party and the country. They sharply criticize the activities of Party organizations and their leaders, including the activities of individual members of the Central Committee and of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. Officials who have not justified the confidence placed in them by the Party have been relieved of their posts.

The period of the cult of the individual, now a thing of the past, saw the widespread employment of wrong methods of Party, government and economic leadership, such as high-handed administrative methods, the hushing-up of shortcomings, indecision on work, and fear of anything new. In the situation, many sycophants, hosanna-singers and falsifiers emerged. The Party resolutely combats, and will continue to combat, all violators of Party and state discipline, people who deceive the Party and the state. It en-



courages principled criticism and self-criticism, which it uses as its keenest and most effective weapon.

The promotion of inner-Party democracy, the extension of the rights and the enhancement of the role of local Party bodies and adherence to the principles of collective leadership have increased the Party's militancy and strengthened its ties with the masses. The Party's inseparable links with the people find vivid expression in the growth of its membership, in the continuous influx of fresh forces.

In the period under review the membership of our Party has increased almost by 2,500,000. The Party had a membership of 7,215,505 at the time of the Twentieth Congress, but its membership had grown to 9,716,005 shortly before this Congress (October 1, 1961). Factory workers account for 40.7 per cent of those admitted into the Party; 22.7 per cent are collective farmers, 35.6 per cent are office and professional workers and 1 per cent are students. What are these office and professional workers who have been admitted into the Party? Almost two-thirds of them are engineers, technicians, agronomists, livestock-breeding experts and other specialists.

I must say that the very concept of office and professional workers has undergone a change. In the early years of Soviet power the intelligentsia consisted mainly of people who before the revolution had been connected with the propertied classes. Certain restrictive measures were therefore taken in respect to office and professional workers. Things are entirely different now; today the overwhelming majority of professional and office workers are former industrial workers or collective farmers, or their

children. That is why the attitude to professional and office workers has changed too. As science, technology, automation and mechanization of production advance, the category known as professional and office workers will grow, and play an ever more important role in production. The time will come when we shall have no need to divide Party members into industrial workers, collective farmers and professional and office workers, since class distinctions will have completely disappeared, and all will be members of communist society.

It is gratifying to report, comrades, that the number of well-educated people in the ranks of our Party is increasing. Today one out of every three Communists has a higher or secondary education. Particularly noteworthy is the fact that over 70 per cent of all Party members and *candidate members are today engaged in the sphere of material production*. The majority of Communists are employed in the decisive sectors, that is, in industry or agriculture.

The C.P.S.U. includes representatives of the more than a hundred nations and nationalities inhabiting the Soviet Union. Our Party came into being, and has been developing, as an internationalist organization of the working class; it embodies the great unity and fraternal friendship of equal socialist nations making up the close-knit family of builders of communism.

The supreme mission of every member of the Leninist Party lies in selfless service to communism. A Communist must do his job with ardor; he must devote heart and soul to the cause of the people. There is no room in the Party for a member who fails to live up to his lofty duties. In the last six years over 200,000 people have been ex-



pelled from the Party for various reasons. By getting rid of those casual people, the Party has become stronger and more solid.

It must be admitted that there are still people who regard Party membership as a way to a career. How are we to safeguard the Party against such operators? In the early years of the revolution and also during the Patriotic War Communists were tested in the struggle. This reminds me of an incident which took place during the Civil War. When our unit had entered a village freed by the Red Army the local schoolmaster asked me:

"What job will you assign me if I join the Bolshevik Party?"

"We'll give you the most honorable job. We'll give you a rifle and we'll send you to fight against the bourgeoisie, for Soviet power," I replied.

"Oh no, that sort of job doesn't suit me," said the man. That made things as clear as daylight. You know that there were many intellectuals in our Party, including teachers, who nobly defended the gains of the Great October Revolution and fought for the cause of the Party.

Now that the struggle for communism is in full swing we must demand that those who join the Party should be everywhere in the forefront of communist construction. The Party Rules make it incumbent on Communists to set an example of a communist attitude to labor, of the utmost devotion to our ideology, of an uncompromising attitude to all shortcomings, to money-grabbing and parasitism; to be considerate and sympathetic to others, and loyal to the Party and the people. A Communist must be a model in the struggle to establish the lofty principles of communist

morality.

That is why all Party organizations must strictly adhere to the principle of individual selection and must fully appraise the personal qualities of applicants for membership. We must continue to admit into the C.P.S.U. the foremost workers, collective farmers and intellectuals, that is to say, the finest members of Soviet society.

Our Party, with its membership of almost 10 million members, will continue fulfilling Lenin's behest as a sacred duty—will continue to hold high the name of Communist.

## II. THE PARTY'S ORGANIZATIONAL WORK AND THE TRAINING OF CADRES. THE ACTIVE PARTICIPATION OF THE MASSES IN PUBLIC WORK IS THE KEY TO NEW SUCCESSSES

Comrades, of recent years the Party has turned its attention to questions of the practical guidance of the national economy. The Central Committee has focused the attention of Party organizations and leading cadres on the careful study and extensive introduction of advanced methods in industry and agriculture; it has used specific examples of good work as models of how our great communist construction should be conducted.

How should the work of a Party official be appraised? What yardstick should be applied for one official to be considered a skillful and energetic organizer, and another reproached and criticized? It is common knowledge that



the work done by a steel smelter, a farmer or a builder can be fairly easily measured both in quantity and quality. The work done by Party officials should be appraised according to the concrete results in the functioning of the factory or construction project, the collective or state farm, the research institution, the district, region or republic they are responsible for.

The success of organizational work and the level of leadership depend in great measure on the links between leaders and the masses, on the ability to organize and direct human effort towards the solution of the principal tasks. However, the links with the masses may differ: they may be deep and permanent, or superficial and temporary. To be closely linked with the masses a Party official needs a number of qualities. Among them are a knowledge of the field he is working in and a progressive approach to the many aspects of economic and cultural construction. A leader must enrich his knowledge all the time by maintaining ever closer contacts with life, and by making a study of the progressive experience amassed by innovators in industry and agriculture and of the achievements of science and technology. Such knowledge is accumulated when a Party official adheres consistently to the Marxist method in analyzing the phenomena of life, is keen in discerning what is new, helps uphold it and put it into effect. This should not be taken to mean that a Party leader has to be a specialist in all fields. Of course, he should know a lot, be well educated and well informed, but the important thing is his all-round knowledge in the field entrusted to him; he should profoundly understand people and enjoy working with them. *The strength of Party leader-*

*ship lies in its collective spirit, which helps to fuse the talents, knowledge and experience of many people into a single talent, as it were, that is capable of achieving great things.*

The decisions of the Twentieth Congress spoke of the necessity of enhancing the role played by Party primary organizations and district committees in organizational and political work. It is here, in these primary and district organizations, that the most various and burning problems of economic and cultural activity are handled. The primary organizations are the backbone of the Party, and it is they that carry on day-by-day work among the masses. There are 41,830 primary organizations at industrial enterprises, 10,427 at building sites, 18,938 on railways and in other transport services, 44,387 on collective farms, and 9,206 on state farms. The success of our cause depends in great measure on the level of the organizational and political work in these lower units of the Party.

To raise the level of the work being done by the primary organizations, the Central Committee has kept all Communists regularly informed on the most important measures taken in the field of domestic and foreign policy, and on questions of ideological work and the international Communist movement. On many occasions the Central Committee has addressed to primary Party organizations and to district Party committees letters containing an exposition of the pressing problems of communist construction.

We can all say that to us Communists nothing can be more interesting or more important than Party work, whose central feature is the maintenance of live contacts with the people. To devote our all to such work, without clas-



sifting it as more important or less important, to show concern for others, no matter on what business they come to us, to be broad-minded and approach matters from the standpoint of Party principles, without losing touch with life—such is our duty and our responsibility to the Party and to the people. It is only such enthusiastic, creative work that can fire people's hearts, and inspire them to accomplish great things in the field of labor and in the overall struggle.

We must always remember that the strength of the Party stems from the activity, the consciousness, the militant unity of its members. Party work is essentially a sphere of public activity, and active participation in it is the duty of every Communist. We are marching towards communism, under which people will run the affairs of society, without a special apparatus of government.

In our country the machinery of the socialist state is gradually developing into self-government by the people. As the vanguard of a people engaged in building a communist society, our Party must also be in the van in organizing its inner-Party life and presenting an example in evolving the most perfect forms of communist self-government. In practice this could mean that the paid apparatus of Party bodies, for instance, will be constantly reduced, while the ranks of unpaid Party functionaries will swell. Party bodies should have more commissions, departments, instructors and secretaries of district and city committees working on a voluntary, unpaid basis. Stronger ties with the masses, the live contacts with people that were characteristic of Lenin, the urge to live and work among people and share their joys and sorrows, and

communist ardor in the struggle for what is new and progressive—all these are features that should be typical of a Party leader.

Comrades, the Party has reared a great number of mature and ideologically tested leading cadres for all fields of work. These people see their supreme duty in selfless service to the people. In the past many local Party officials awaited directives and instructions from above on all and every occasion and frequently had no opportunity to display their own initiative, but things have now changed for the better and, as a result of the extension of the powers and responsibilities of local Party organs, greater independence and a creative approach to matters are expected of them. We now have such cadres, and it is they who set the tone in all work.

However, there are still officials who display neither energy nor initiative in their work, and who have grown accustomed to their factory, district, region or republic trailing along in the rear. We still do not always present sufficiently high demands to such people, and they keep their jobs for a long time. If an industrial enterprise fails to fulfill its monthly or quarterly plans, its director will obviously not keep his job for long. Non-fulfillment of an industrial enterprise's plan is justly considered intolerable and impermissible.

Then why is it that this same principle is not always applied to leading workers in agriculture? We have not only collective farms but entire districts and regions which have "won" the "right" not to fulfill plans, the "right," if one may say so, to consume, not produce. They become consumers because their agricultural techniques are ex-



tremely poor and they are satisfied with harvests of five to seven centners of oats per hectare. I have already spoken about the situation in Kirov Region, where for over eight years Comrade Pchalyakov was secretary of the Regional Committee. When he was finally relieved of his post for serious failures in his work and for falsification, he was surprised and demanded an explanation—for what reason and on what grounds, he wanted to know, had he been relieved of his post? But how can such a person stand at the head of a Party organization?

Then there are leading workers of another type—those who like living at the expense of the state. Some directors of industrial enterprises, chairmen of collective farms and managers of state farms and various departments who, year by year, keep asking for production plans to be reduced, and payrolls and investments increased. Such officials cannot be regarded as genuine leaders since they do not organize people to work better, do not inspire them by example, but instill in them a spirit of dependence on others. If such leaders, who consider themselves Communists, gave serious thought to what the consequences would be if all enterprises, state and collective farms were to start asking for lower plans of output and larger state allocations, they would realize that with such an approach we should be unable to make progress. It should be clear to everyone that it will be possible to create an abundance of everything and satisfy the yearly increasing requirements of the people, only when each enterprise and each Soviet man and woman will make a proper contribution to the common cause of communist construction.

A lot of damage is done to our cause by swell-headed

officials. More often than not one meets among these people those who neglect to improve their professional qualifications, their theoretical and political knowledge, and therefore often slide into political turpitude, become hucksters and babblers.

In general, comrades, work with cadres, and the ability to select and educate them properly, is a complex business which calls for skill. It may happen that a man is promoted to a certain job and fails to cope with it. The causes may vary, and they should not always serve to cast blame on the person in question. However, it becomes clear that the promotion was a mistake and the work is suffering. It is obvious that the mistake must be rectified. But not every such comrade will agree to return to his old job, where he was doing good work. In fact, it is almost impossible. Why? The reason is, you see, that he has won the right to be called a functionary at a regional, republic or even Union level, and will take mortal offense if he is offered work that he can really cope with. In this case, riding the high horse, displaying conceit and arrogance, means displaying qualities unworthy of a Party member.

Working with cadres calls for strict observance of the Leninist principle of a proper combination of old and experienced leaders, who have been tested in the struggle for the Party line, and young and energetic organizers with a sound knowledge of their field. It is very important that continuity be observed in our work, for it helps to preserve and develop the best traditions of the Party, and encourages an influx of young forces, with their innate sense of the new, with initiative and the ability to get things done quickly. It is quite impermissible for a leading Party



post to be held by one who falsifies reports or is a hide-bound bureaucrat. Falsifying reports and other acts of deception will continue to be condemned by the Party with the full force of Party and Soviet law.

Our Party and the Soviet people are rich in talents. The promotion and training of people for various branches of Party and government work, for employment in the economy or in cultural spheres—such is the prime duty of Party organizations. The school of life, of practical activities, provides the finest training and the best political instruction. The struggle for the implementation of the Party line and the solution of the problems of communist construction evolve and develop those qualities that are required in a Party or government worker of the Leninist type. We must solicitously train such cadres.

Comrades! At the present time primary significance attaches to the problem of *Party, government and public control* from top to bottom and from bottom to top. Control is an effective means of perfecting leadership in communist construction. The work of any organization, of any leading Party organ, should be appraised first and foremost by the way it puts into practice the Program and the Rules of the C.P.S.U. and the directives given by the Party.

If, in the early years of Soviet rule, Lenin attached such tremendous importance to all aspects of supervision and to the verification of fulfillment of Party decisions, how much more care must we take of such things now that our national economy has expanded so gigantically! Just as a skilled mechanic senses the pulse and operation of a huge machine in his charge, so that the slightest sound will tell him whether the machine is out of tune, just as he seems to

discern the slightest speck of dust which may lead to a stoppage, so we must daily and hourly keep a finger on the throbbing pulse of the huge Soviet land, eliminate manifestations of red tape, and notice in time and remove all that delays progress.

It is above all Party organizations that must be more exacting in supervising and verifying execution of decisions. There must be more system in the way local Party bodies render account to higher Party bodies and to the rank and file as to how Party decisions have been put into effect. We must remember and unswervingly carry out the Leninist demand—supervise the work of people, and verify how measures have actually been carried out.

Much work has to be done to improve state control. Until recently there were big shortcomings in the work of the Soviet Control Commissions. In the first place, they were very poorly linked up with practice, with the masses, without whose active participation and help the state control bodies cannot perform their functions.

The system of Party, state and public control is a powerful means of improving leadership in communist construction on the basis of genuinely democratic principles, a splendid school of communist education for the masses. That is why the advice given by Lenin in his article "How We Should Reorganize the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection" should be more widely applied, with due attention to present-day conditions.

Supervision by the general public, with strict verification of the way decisions have been carried out, is a method by which the principle of criticism and self-criticism can be put into effect. The new features that are ap-



pearing in our life, the shoots of communism, call for the greatest care, and we must clear the communist field of weeds and wild grasses, and promote the creative activities of the great army of builders of a communist society.

The great successes achieved by our people under the leadership of the Party are clear to everybody. They are gratifying to all Soviet people and give them confidence that in future we shall advance more successfully and more rapidly.

Lenin taught the Party never to permit superciliousness and complacency, to see the shortcomings in the work as well as the successes, and to concentrate efforts on the solution of unsolved problems. We still have many such problems. There are still quite a number of shortcomings to be overcome in the work of Party and government bodies.

We must bend all our efforts towards effecting a growth of the economy and improving the living standards of the people. It is essential that we struggle for a further increase in farm produce, for the fulfillment of housing plans, for higher labor productivity in all branches of the economy and for considerable improvement in the quality of goods produced, especially consumer goods.

The more active we are in giving our support to and introducing into production everything that is new and progressive, the sharper and more implacable we are in exposing and eliminating shortcomings, the more speedily will the tasks confronting us be accomplished. The cause of communist construction is the cause of millions, the cause of the entire people.

In all its activities the Party has marching by its side

such *mass organizations of working people* as the Soviets, the trade unions, the Komsomol and the co-operatives.

Born in the fire of revolution as organs of the people's struggle for power, the *Soviets* have now become an all-embracing organization of the people and the embodiment of their unity; they have become a school of public activity for the millions, the like of which mankind has never before seen in the entire course of its development.

The whole activity of the Soviets is the best confirmation of the highly democratic character of our society. The fact that the total number of deputies to the Soviets is now about two million alone speaks volumes. Besides these deputies, there are over two million people working actively on the standing committees of our Soviets. No other social system could provide such confirmation of its genuinely democratic and popular character. The Soviets must still further strengthen their ties with the masses and devote deeper and wider attention to problems of state administration and the development of the economy and culture.

Great changes have taken place in our country in the 25 years that have passed since the adoption of the present Constitution of the U.S.S.R. The Soviet Union has entered upon a new stage of its development, and socialist democracy has mounted to a higher plane. The new Constitution of the U.S.S.R., on the elaboration of which we are about to start work, must reflect the new features that have appeared in the life of Soviet society in the period of the full-scale construction of communism.

The role and importance of the *trade unions* are growing



ever greater under present-day conditions. Following the Twentieth Congress, the rights and functions of the trade unions in handling all problems affecting the working people's vital interests were considerably expanded. With their membership of over 60 millions, the Soviet trade unions are the working people's school of education, administration and management, a school of communism. At the present stage, the struggle for the implementation of the program of communist construction holds priority in trade union activities. Concern for the working man is the prime duty and responsibility of the trade unions. Our trade unions, applying the traditional principles of trade union work and enriching it with new communist forms and methods, must draw the working people into the management of production and of all the affairs of society.

With Soviet society's advance towards communism, the functions of the trade unions will expand, so that new problems, formerly the concern of state bodies, will enter their sphere of activity. Our Party will encourage the growth of trade union activities in economic management, and in particular in converting the standing production conferences into ever more effective agencies that will help improve the work of enterprises.

Special stress must be laid on the trade unions' tasks in the sphere of promoting communist consciousness among the working people, organizing emulation for communist labor, and in helping the masses acquire experience in administering state and public affairs.

The trade unions are confronted with the task of improving forms and methods of work. Conditions in our

country call more and more imperatively for the greatest possible application of the principle of social work in the trade unions, so that their paid staff may be reduced. The more extensively this principle is applied, the more actively will the working people participate in the affairs of society.

We all highly appreciate the activities of our splendid *Leninist Young Communist League (Komsomol)*, the Party's militant helper. The lives of many of us are linked with it. Many Communists have passed through the school of the Komsomol. The Komsomol is our future and our reserve. At all stages of socialist construction the Komsomol, the Soviet youth, have displayed a clear understanding of the tasks set by the Party. By their work they have shown that they are worthy heirs to the great revolutionary traditions, and are carrying on the glorious cause of their parents.

It would be hard to enumerate the splendid exploits of the Komsomol, of the Soviet youth. Our people are proud of their youth, and rightly so.

Young Leninists are growing up all the time in the Young Pioneer organization, and the Party has entrusted to the Komsomol the task of educating these young Leninists with solicitude and love, and of teaching them to face up to all difficulties life may present to them.

We must not forget that the old world continues to try to encumber our path with old ideas and habits. We must not lose sight of the fact that some young people are sullied by the dirt of the past; they yield to philistinism and the corrupting influence of bourgeois ideology.



*The education of young people in the heroic traditions of the revolutionary struggle, using examples of devoted labor set by workers, peasants and intellectuals, and in the great ideas of Marxism-Leninism—such is the principal task of the Leninist Young Communist League.*

Splendid prospects are opening up before the youth, great and fascinating goals for them to reach. The Program of the C.P.S.U. opens the door into the future wide before them. To build communism—what a great and wonderful aim to have in view! However, building communism means first and foremost developing the economy, increasing production of material and spiritual values, and fostering in everyone features of a member of communist society. The youth are called upon to help develop our natural wealth, and build factories, state farms, and cities. It is not near Moscow or Leningrad that the bowels of the earth hold wealth, but in the taiga, in the mountains and deserts. To make this wealth serve the people, it must be extracted from the earth.

The young people of Moscow and Leningrad, Kiev and Gorky, all young people living in the older seats of population, must set out boldly to provide our people with new wealth. Wherever there is man and his labor there will be everything. As Nekrasov once said: "Man, with his will and his labor, is a miracle-worker indeed!" Such was the case in Nekrasov's time, when men used pick and spade, saw and axe to do their work. Today the Soviet youth are heading for the construction sites in the country, equipped with deep knowledge and the most up-to-date machinery. They have done much good work in our country, and will

do much more, inspired by the great plans of communist construction.

The Party has confidence in the Komsomol, in the Soviet youth, and calls to our young people: Onward to the far-flung sites of communist construction!

### III. THE IDEOLOGICAL ACTIVITIES OF THE PARTY. STRENGTHENING BONDS WITH THE PEOPLE IN THEIR DAY-TO-DAY LIFE. COMMUNIST CONSTRUCTION AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF REVOLUTIONARY THEORY

Comrades, the Twentieth Congress opened up wide vistas for the constructive development of Marxism-Leninism. We are glad to note that in the years since that Congress the Party has restored and developed Lenin's principles in ideological work, and has successfully tackled urgent theoretical problems of communist construction. After eliminating the harmful consequences of the cult of the individual, the Party re-orientated ideological work in conformity with the requirements of the day, and pursued a policy of strengthening the unity of theory and practice. It based its policy on a scientific, Marxist-Leninist foundation and devoted all educational work in the field of theory and ideology to the solution of concrete problems of communist construction.

Of great significance in advancing ideological and theo-



retical work was the publication of a second edition of the works of Marx and Engels, the fifth edition of the *Collected Works of Lenin*, collections of Party decisions, a thoroughly documented biography of Lenin, a number of manuals and books on theory, the history of the C.P.S.U., philosophy, political economy, and the history of the Civil War and the Great Patriotic War. By a decision of the Central Committee, work has begun on a many-volume history of the C.P.S.U. which is to sum up the experience gained by the Party and the Soviet people in the struggle for the victory of communism.

The Party proceeds from Lenin's thesis on the constantly growing role of the masses as the conscious makers of history. The Party consults the people on all the most momentous and most urgent issues of the day. The ideological work of the Party organizations enhances the communist consciousness and the labor and political activities of the masses, and serves as a most important, permanently operating factor in the building of communism.

A significant part in deepening and expanding the Party's ideological influence on the masses is played by political training, lectures, mass educational work in the fields of politics and culture and by the press, radio, television, cinema, literature and art. It is indicative that in the past five years the daily circulation of newspapers has increased by twenty million copies, and the annual circulation of magazines and other periodicals by 417 million copies. More books are published in the Soviet Union than in any other country in the world. That, comrades, is an outstanding success recorded by the Party in the development of socialist culture and the dissemination of communist ideol-

ogy. The Party and the Soviet people think highly of those who conduct propaganda and agitation, workers in the fields of science, education and culture, that huge army of ideological workers, active fighters for the triumph of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

*In the forefront of ideological work today is the task of making a thorough explanation to the working people of the new Program of the C.P.S.U. which equips the Party and the entire people with a grand plan of struggle for the triumph of communism.* Our new Program will serve to educate the masses in the spirit of communism. The Party program, said Lenin, is a most powerful weapon in our propaganda and agitation. "Every section of our Program," he said, "is something that every worker should know, learn and understand."\*

Ideological work is not an end in itself, but is an important means of fulfilling the basic tasks of communist construction. For this reason a high level of efficiency is an essential demand made to educational work in the field of ideology under the conditions now obtaining.

The building of communism requires a great labor effort on the part of the people, by literally every Soviet man and woman. Without labor there cannot be a prosperous society, there can be no well-being and happiness for man. The good things of life do not drop like manna from heaven. Every working man and woman must realize this and do his or her bit in the nation-wide cause of communist construction.

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\*V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 29, p. 168.



You know how industrious bees are; every bee brings its drop of nectar into the common hive. We may well imagine Soviet society as a big communist hive. In our society everyone must increase the national wealth by his labor, and in due time we shall be able to meet all requirements. Just as there are drones in a beehive that the bees themselves and the bee-keeper try to drive out, so there are still some people in our Soviet society who want to live at the expense of society without giving anything in return. There are still people among us who are inclined to regard communism as a society of idleness and indolence. It is unfortunate that a one-sided and simplified picture of the future is frequently drawn in oral and even in printed propaganda, and there are people who think that under communism a man will neither sow nor reap but only eat cake. Such a conception of communism is typical of people that are poor in spirit, of philistines and parasites.

Communism and labor go hand in hand. The great principle of "He who does not work neither shall he eat" will continue to operate under communism and will, in fact, become a sacred principle for everyone. Man's beauty and his fame stem from his work, from what he does, from that which he has created and that which he has performed. The abilities and talents of people, the genius of man, are revealed in labor, the immortality of man is in his labor.

*The training of man for his life's work, the steeling of people through labor, the inculcation of love and respect for labor as a vital necessity, is the backbone, the central feature, of all work in the field of communist education.*

The moulding of the new man is a long and complicated process. People cannot be mechanically transported from

the realm of capitalism to the realm of communism. A man steeped in capitalist prejudices cannot be taken into communism. Care must first be taken to free him of the burden of the past. It will take time and effort to eliminate the survivals of capitalism in the minds of men, to change in millions of people customs and habits that evolved in the course of centuries—to complete the change that was begun by our revolution. Survivals of the past are a terrible power that fetters the minds of people. They retain a firm hold in the lives and in the minds of millions of people long after the economic conditions that engendered them have disappeared.

At the present stage of communist construction a still more vigorous struggle must be waged against such survivals of capitalism as indolence, parasitism, drunkenness and rowdiness, swindling and money-grabbing, against the resurgence of dominant-nation chauvinism and local nationalism, against bureaucratic methods, a wrong attitude towards women, etc. These are weeds that should have no place in our field.

Communist education presupposes the emancipation of the mind from the religious prejudices and superstitions that still prevent some Soviet people from displaying their creative ability to the full. A more effective system of scientific atheist propaganda is needed, one that will embrace all sections and groups of the population, and will prevent the dissemination of religious views, especially among children and adolescents.

Nor must it be forgotten that the survivals of capitalism in the minds of people have to be overcome and a new man educated under conditions of a fierce ideological



struggle between the world of socialism and the world of capitalism. The ideologists of imperialism are doing everything they can to maintain and revive bourgeois morals and prejudices in the minds of Soviet people in order to hamper our progress towards communism.

The education of the new man requires great effort and a wise approach. We are dealing with human beings. Everything in man is rationally interconnected. It is not the sort of interconnection that exists between the parts of a machine, but something far more complicated. One day, when the Dnieper Power Station was being built, Maxim Gorki saw how the rapids were being cleared. Workers placed explosives under the rocks; there was a dull explosion, the water raged for a time, the rocks subsided and the broad Dnieper flowed smoothly on its way. And Gorki said: "If one such explosion could remove from society all the rocks, all that belongs to the past, all that is ignorant and barbaric, how wonderful that would be!" In the reconstruction of society, however, everything is more intricate and difficult. Human society cannot be cleansed of that which prevents a happy and joyous life without a great deal of sweat and much vexation of spirit.

The shaping of a new type of citizen, a man of great ideals and high moral principles, is one of the greatest achievements of our Party. Our opponents are scared by the political and cultural growth of Soviet people and their loyalty to communism. It stands to reason that this has not been spontaneous, but has been achieved as a result of the Party's many years of educational work. We are now in a position to propose and put into effect those most noble principles of relations between people that many genera-

tions of working people have dreamed of. Those principles are given concrete form in the Communist code of morality.

*The interests of communist construction demand that questions of communist education should be the center of the attention and activities of every Party organization and the general public.* The time has come to put an end to any underestimation of ideological work and to its divorce from organizational work. Any counterposing of ideological and organizational work is incorrect and harmful. The ideological worker, if he really strives to make his work bear fruit, must be a political organizer of the masses. On the other hand, it must always be remembered that the principal methods of organizational work imply convincing people and educating them in a proper spirit. A higher level of ideological work is an essential condition for the success of our practical activity.

Comrades, our Party's strength lies in its having been able to merge the theory and practice of scientific communism into a single whole in the work of effecting revolutionary transformations. The historic successes achieved by the Soviet people are positive evidence of the Party's correct application and creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory. In recent years the scope and significance of the Party's theoretical work have greatly increased.

The great doctrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin always has been and remains our guide to action. The Party will continue to hold high the all-conquering banner of Marxism-Leninism and to preserve its purity, will resolutely sweep from its path all revisionists and other renegades who, under the guise of "renewing" communist theory, attempt to distort it and deprive it of revolutionary principles.



The creators of scientific communism foresaw that ever new problems would arise out of real life and that Communists would have to develop revolutionary theory persistently and in close connection with the socialist transformation of society. This is particularly forceful and urgent in our own times in the period of the rapid, revolutionary recasting of social relations, of radical developments in the history of mankind. Now that those men of genius, the founders of scientific communism, are no longer with us, and day-to-day practice confronts us with a growing number of new questions, the answer to them must be provided by the disciples and followers of Marx and Lenin.

It is a specific feature of the epoch of the full-scale construction of communist society that it confronts us with more and more theoretical questions, the answer to which is to be sought not only in books, but first and foremost in the invigorating practice of communist construction. We would be betraying the spirit of our theory if, under these new conditions, we were unable to apply and develop Marxism-Leninism in a creative spirit, if we did not enrich it with new theoretical propositions and conclusions, if we had not courage enough to bring up to date those formulas and propositions that had ceased to conform to new historical experience.

Reality is much richer than any formulas are. Theoretical propositions must be brought up to date and changed relevantly to changes in the life of society. Our Party has provided excellent examples of such a thoroughly Marxist-Leninist attitude to revolutionary theory.

In the life of our Party the period under review has

been one of constructive solutions to many important questions in the building of communism and to many urgent problems of the world emancipation movement. Among them are some major theoretical conclusions—on the dictatorship of the proletariat under present-day conditions; on the laws governing socialism's development into communism; on the ways of creating the material and technical basis of communism; on the formation of communist social relations and the education of the new man; on the variety of forms for the transition from capitalism to socialism; on the more or less simultaneous entry of the socialist countries into communism; on the real possibility of preventing a world war in our times; on the nature of the present epoch, and so on.

The great theoretical work of the C.P.S.U. is most fully embodied in its new Program, which is the philosophical, economic and political basis of the building of communism in our country. The elaboration of the Program is not only evidence of historic achievements in the field of economic and cultural development, but demonstrates the great and varied theoretical work of the Party. The development of revolutionary theory has become a matter for the entire Party.

Our practical successes in the building of communism are at the same time successes in the development of theory. It is precisely from this point of view that the huge social and economic measures carried out by the Party in recent years must be examined. Among them are the reorganization of the management in industry and building, the reorganization of the machine and tractor stations and the further strengthening of the collective-farm system, in-



provements in economic planning, the adjustment of school programs to meet the needs of life, further progress in developing the educational system, and a number of others. The measures effected by the Party constitute a truly revolutionary step forward in the development of Soviet society and are, at the same time, a major contribution to Marxist-Leninist theory. They were important decisions dictated by the requirements of the objective laws of communist construction. The Party proceeded from the need to change certain methods of leadership in the economic and cultural fields, which, after having played a positive part in the past, had ceased to meet the requirements of life under the new conditions, and might have hampered our development. In implementing important measures the Party takes into consideration both the need to solve current economic and political problems and the perspective of the Soviet Union's advance to communism.

Creative Marxism-Leninism does not tolerate stagnation of thought, the worship of formulas that do not accord with the real state of affairs, with the objective situation. Nothing contradicts the essence and creative spirit of revolutionary theory so much as attempts to hang on to propositions whose unsoundness has been proved by the realities of life. An example is the thesis, current for a long time in our economic literature, and, indeed, not only in economic publications, that under socialism the purchasing power of the population should always keep ahead of production, and that this is even a specific advantage which socialism has over capitalism and is one of the motive forces of our development. This obviously erroneous assertion, one that contradicts the Marxist-Leninist theory of

the relation between production and consumption, arose out of the uncritical, dogmatic acceptance of Stalin's erroneous thesis to the effect that in the U.S.S.R. "the increase of mass consumption (purchasing power) continuously outstrips the growth of production . . ." The champions of this point of view were not worried at the fact that they were actually justifying the shortage of articles of primary necessity and the perpetuation of the ration-card system and its psychology.

Socialist economy is a planned economy. We can and must give every consideration to the population's demand for goods when planning the volume and type to be produced. Lenin said that socialism means "the planned organization of the process of social production to ensure the well-being and all-round development of all members of society." On more than one occasion he stressed the need to ensure a rate of production development sufficient to create an abundance of goods for the people. We must be guided by these propositions of Lenin. Our Party is devoting its efforts to the full satisfaction of the material and spiritual requirements of the people.

The creative development of Marxism-Leninism is the very foundation of all Party activity, the decisive factor of our successes in communist construction. Guided by the Leninist principle of the unity of theory and practice, our Party will continue to regard the defense and creative development of the principles of Marxism-Leninism as its most important duty to the peoples of our country and the working people of the entire world.

Comrades, our Congress will discuss the great tasks of building a communist society, the achievement of that



great goal which was scientifically substantiated by the great thinkers and revolutionaries Marx, Engels and Lenin. The decisions of the Twenty-Second Congress and the new Party Program will determine the entire political, organizational and ideological work of the Party.

What are our principal tasks in the field of Party work?

1. First and foremost the Party will direct the efforts of the Soviet people to the creation of the material and technical basis of communism, to the perfection of the new social relations and the education of all Soviet people in the communist spirit. The Party, its organizations, all Communists must ensure correct leadership in communist construction, set an example, be in the vanguard, bring a high degree of organization and planning into all work for communist construction and develop the creative initiative and activity of the masses.

2. The Party must concentrate its attention on the fulfillment of the Seven-Year Plan, on a steady rise in labor productivity and on improving the working people's living standards. Party organizations must head the struggle for technical progress in all branches of the economy, for the wide application of the methods used by innovators and those in the van of socialist emulation, and the all-round development of the movement for communist labor.

3. In conformity with the demands of its new Program and Rules, the Party will unswervingly observe Leninist standards in Party life and the principle of collective leadership, will make Party bodies and their members more strictly accountable to the Party and the people, will foster activity and initiative on the part of all Communists and their participation in the elaboration and implementa-

tion of Party policy, and will develop criticism and self-criticism. The Party will continue to strengthen the unity of its ranks, preserve the purity of Marxism-Leninism, and conduct an implacable struggle against all manifestations of factionalism and group activity, both of which are incompatible with the Marxist-Leninist Party spirit.

4. The Party will in every way help to extend and improve the activities of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies, the trade unions, Komsomol and other mass organizations, will help enhance their role in communist construction and communist education, will help develop the creative initiative of the masses and strengthen the friendship of all nations of the Soviet Union. The growing scale and complexity of the tasks of communist construction make it imperative to strengthen Party, state and public control over and systematic verification of fulfillment of decisions. Improvements in the system of control must be effected on a broad public basis to transform it into genuine control by the people.

5. Ideological work, that powerful factor in the struggle for the victory of communism, must be raised to a higher level. The Party will continue working on the new theoretical problems arising out of practice, will educate all Soviet people in a spirit of loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, intolerance of all manifestations of bourgeois ideology, in a spirit of greater political vigilance in view of the intrigues of the enemies of communism.

6. The Party regards communist construction in the U.S.S.R. as the fulfillment of its internationalist duty to the working people of all countries. It will continue to work untiringly to strengthen the world socialist system



and the unity of the entire international Communist and working-class movement. Our Party will develop fraternal contacts with all Communist and Workers' parties and, together with them, will conduct a determined struggle for the purity of Marxism-Leninism, against the various manifestations of opportunism, against present-day revisionism as the gravest danger, against dogmatism and sectarianism.

Loyalty to the great theory of Marxism-Leninism and ties with the people were in the past, are in the present, and will be in the future the foundation of our victories, a guarantee of the triumph of communism!

Comrades, this Congress is to examine and discuss magnificent plans for the building of a communist society. These are plans for peaceful creative work, for a gigantic economic and cultural growth, for higher living standards. All the countries of the mighty socialist community are making great headway. Great and clear-cut prospects are ahead of us.

The peoples building socialism and communism do not need war. They adhere to and translate into practice the principle of peaceful coexistence inherited from the great Lenin.

In the name of the Communist Party and the Soviet people, we solemnly proclaim from the rostrum of the Twenty-Second Congress: "The Soviet Union will continue to pursue unswervingly the Leninist peaceful foreign policy, and will try to establish mutual trust and cooperation with all states irrespective of their social system. The Soviet Union will continue to strive for the easing of international tension and for general and complete disarmament under strict international control."

We have appealed and again appeal to the governments and peoples of the countries that fought together with the Soviet Union against Nazi Germany, to put an end to the remnants of the Second World War and remove everything that hinders the strengthening of peace and friendship between nations, everything that holds the threat of a new war. The Soviet Union's proposals to conclude a peace treaty with Germany and, on that basis, to settle the question of West Berlin, involve no detriment to the interests of other states. The proposals show nothing but solicitude for the strengthening of peace between peoples. We should like to believe that in the end reason will triumph.

Under the conditions obtaining today, when there are terribly destructive weapons in the hands of the great powers, it is criminally dangerous to play with fire by fomenting war. We call on the governments of all countries to strive towards mutual understanding and co-operation, towards the peaceful solution of outstanding international issues. It is the sacred duty of the peoples to conduct a persistent and energetic struggle, using all available means, for the preservation and consolidation of peace on earth.

Comrades, the Twenty-Second Congress of the Party is taking place on the eve of the anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The fact that at this Congress our Party is adopting a new Program is evidence of the historic victories of socialism and communism, is a triumph for the cause of the Great October Revolution, a further victory for Marxism-Leninism.

Only forty-four years ago, in the revolutionary days of 1917, our country was faced with the crucial question of choosing a path, of deciding how Russia was to be saved



from an imminent national catastrophe. At that time one of the Menshevik leaders said that there was no party in Russia that could assume responsibility for the destinies of the country. It was precisely at that time, in the ominous days of 1917, that the leader of the proletarian revolution, Lenin, proclaimed boldly and proudly to the whole world:

*"There is such a Party!"*

Speaking at the First All-Russian Congress of Soviets, Lenin announced, on behalf of the Central Committee, that the Bolshevik Party was prepared to take power, to assume responsibility for the destinies of our country. He unfolded a breath-taking program for the victory of the revolution, for the transformation of Russia on socialist lines. Everybody now sees how right Lenin was when he spoke these momentous words. Our Party took upon itself a tremendous burden, assumed responsibility for the destinies of the country, for the future of its people. The broad shoulders of the Party has, in a brief historical period, fully lived up to its undertaking to transform the country, to make it mighty and prosperous.

Everybody now sees and admits this. Yet at the time Lenin announced the readiness of the Party of Communists to assume government of the country, the Russian bourgeois press launched a savage campaign against the Communists, ridiculed us and made mock of us. Here is what the monarchist newspaper *New Times* wrote:

"Let us suppose for a moment that the Communists are victorious. Who will rule us then? The cooks, perhaps, or the firemen, the stablemen and the furnace-hands. Or perhaps nurse-maids will hurry to a meeting of the State Council between washing babies' diapers. Who? Who are

these statesmen? Stablemen, nurse-maids, cooks—according to the Communists—these are the people whose vocation it is to rule the country. Will that come to pass? No! Is it even possible? History will give the Communists a potent answer to that imbecile question."

And sure enough, history has answered that question with great force. The magnificent victories of the Soviet people in building socialism and communism, in all spheres of economic activity, in the development of science and culture have dispersed like smoke the legend that the working masses are incapable of creative effort, of governing the state. These victories have shown convincingly that the working people, factory workers, peasants, miners, furnace-hands and cooks who have taken power into their own hands can govern the state better and more wisely, and develop the economy, science and culture more successfully than, for example, the members of the Russian State Council, the princes, counts, capitalists and landlords who ended their days ingloriously on the émigré scrap-heap.

The example of the Soviet Union is an inspiration to all progressive mankind. Never has the great vitality of the theory of Marxism-Leninism been as clear as it is today, when socialism has gained a complete and final victory in the Soviet Union, when socialism is achieving new successes in all the countries of the world socialist community, when the world Communist and working-class movement and the national liberation struggle of the peoples are rapidly growing and expanding. The revolution released the enormous energy of the peoples and this energy is transforming the world on socialist and communist lines. Tremendous changes are taking place and will continue to



take place under the influence of the achievements of communism. The triumph of communism is inevitable!

Ninety years ago Marx, saluting the heroic deeds of the Paris Communards, called them heroes storming the heavens. That was a high assessment of the exploits of the fighters of the Paris Commune, a passionate call for revolutionary struggle. We are proud to be able to say today that the peoples of the Soviet Union, who have built socialism and are now successfully erecting the edifice of a communist society, are really storming the heavens both figuratively and literally.

The great army of Communists, of Marxists-Leninists, is the vanguard of the peoples in the struggle for peace and social progress, for the bright future, communism. Ever more millions of people will rally about the great banner of Marxism-Leninism. The cause of progress, the cause of communism shall triumph!

Long live the great, heroic Soviet people, the builder of communism!

Long live the unbreakable unity and fraternal friendship of the peoples of the world socialist community!

Long live the heroic Party of Communists of the Soviet Union, created by the great Lenin and steeled in the struggle!

Long live the unshakable unity of the international Communist and working-class movement, the fraternal solidarity of proletarians of all countries!

Long live world peace!

Under the all-conquering banner of Marxism-Leninism, under the leadership of the Communist Party—forward to the triumph of communism!

## Concluding Speech

### *Review of the Congress*

Comrade Delegates, we have come to the end of our discussion of the Central Committee's Report and the Report on the Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which has proceeded at a high political level. Many delegates to the Congress have spoken from this rostrum. What may be said of these speeches? I think you will agree with me that each speech may be described as a report, as an accounting to the Party. Everyone who ascended this rostrum spoke of the most compelling, the most necessary tasks that have been accomplished and still remain to be accomplished. The speeches were filled with indomitable faith in the triumph of communism.

All the speakers unanimously approved both the Central Committee's political line and practical activities, and the



draft of our Party Program, a program for the building of communism. The Twenty-Second Congress is a most vivid demonstration of the unity of our Leninist Party, of the fact that the entire Soviet people are closely rallied round it.

The entire content of the Twenty-Second Congress has reaffirmed our Party's unwavering fidelity to the line worked out by the Twentieth Congress. It is now still more evident that the Twentieth Congress has, by eradicating all the after-effects of the period of the personality cult, opened a new chapter in the history of our Party and exercised a beneficial influence on the development of our country and of the world Communist and working-class movement as a whole.

The attention of our Congress is focused on the Party Program, the program for the building of communist society. All the delegates to the Congress who have spoken from this rostrum approved the draft Program submitted by the Central Committee, and discussed in a businesslike manner concrete practical ways of translating it into reality. They expressed firm confidence that the new Program will be successfully realized, voicing the readiness of the Soviet people to apply their every effort to fulfilling the third Program as successfully as the first and second program.

It is from the devoted labor of the Soviet people that our Program derives its strength and vitality. What joy and pride one feels listening to the speeches of such wonderful innovators as Valentina Gaganova, Alexander Kolchik, Maria Rozhneva, Vasily Kavun, Vasily Smirnov, Alexander Gitalov and many others. How much initiative,

inventiveness, skill and perseverance in labor is being shown by the foremost men and women in fulfilling their duty to their country, to the people. The millions of such innovators are the flower and pride of our Soviet society.

It is very important at present that the efforts of all working people at each factory, each building project, each collective and state farm, should be concentrated on the fulfillment and over-fulfillment of the production plans. The higher the productivity of labor, the higher the quality, the more values will we create; and the more values there will be, the more rapid will be the Soviet people's advance toward the great goal, the building of communist society. Representatives of all the republics, of many territories and regions of our country—Party and government officials, the foremost men and women of industry and agriculture—our wonderful lodestars, as they are figuratively described, have spoken at the Congress; so have scientists, writers and art workers, and representatives of our glorious armed forces.

The delegates spoke on key questions of communist construction. They spoke of the ways and means of building the material and technical basis of communism; of urgent questions concerning the work of industry and the further development of agriculture; of the prospects of still greater progress in science, culture, education, art and literature in our country; of the tasks of moulding the man of the new communist society. All these matters were deeply and thoroughly studied at the Congress. Now, at the Twenty-Second Congress, we see still more clearly that communist construction has become the practical task of the Party, the cause of the entire Soviet people.



The delegates' speeches were highly principled, business-like and intolerant of shortcomings. The comrades rightly concentrated attention on the need for developing to the utmost the productive forces of Soviet society, for improving planning, organization of production and methods of economic management, and for properly utilizing the potentialities of industry and agriculture. They made proposals, the sense of which was aimed at obtaining the maximum economic results at a minimum outlay of labor.

Important questions concerning the further improvement of the management of the national economy were raised during the discussion of the Central Committee Report and of the draft Program. The Congress shows that the Party unanimously approves the measures effected in that field by the Central Committee and the Government in the last few years. In particular, everybody welcomed the creation of economic administrative areas and, in the largest economic administrative areas, the organization of councils for coordination and planning.

The delegates to the Congress unanimously approved the measures taken in the last few years by the Central Committee of the Party and by the Government in the field of agriculture.

We have heard many vivid and purposeful speeches here. The proposals made at the Congress on various aspects of economic, scientific and cultural development, and concerning the work and the living conditions of Soviet people, merit every support. It is difficult even to enumerate all the valuable proposals made during the discussion.

Comrade Keldysh was quite right, for example, when

he stressed the need for organizing joint scientific institutions in the economic administrative areas and the Union republics.

Comrade Rozhneva raised the question of abolishing night shifts for women. That is a big problem. You will realize that it will take time and the necessary conditions to solve it completely. The Central Committee and the Government will look into the problem and do everything possible to solve it.

Comrade Gitalov has stressed rightly that we need to promote, truly far and wide, the experience of the comprehensive mechanization of agricultural jobs.

There have been a number of other important proposals made during the discussion at the Congress. Implementation of these proposals will unquestionably help to successfully carry out the tasks confronting us. The Central Committee, the Council of Ministers, and the local Party and government bodies should study all these proposals closely and take the necessary measures.

Comrades, delegations of nearly all the Communist and Workers' parties of the world are attending our Congress. The speeches made from this rostrum by our dear guests and the salutatory messages the Congress has received from the fraternal parties, reflect the great unity of the ranks of the world Communist movement, and confirm once more that all the Marxist-Leninist parties approve and support the Leninist policy of our Party.

Allow me, on behalf of the Congress and of all our Party and the Soviet people, to express profound and heartfelt gratitude to the Communist and Workers' parties of the world for their high evaluation of the activities of



the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of its role in the international Communist and working-class movement, for their confidence and their wishes of success in the implementation of our new Program.

May I assure you, dear foreign comrades and brothers, that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will continue to carry high the great banner of Marxism-Leninism, that, with added energy, it will build communism, where peace, labor, freedom, equality, fraternity and happiness for all peoples will reign.

The speeches made at our Congress by the leaders of the Communist and Workers' parties of the countries of the socialist camp have shown that the fraternal parties stand unanimously by the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement. The socialist camp has again demonstrated the monolithic unity of its ranks, the growth and the increased cohesion of the forces of world socialism.

The presence at the Twenty-Second Congress of delegations from eighty Marxist-Leninist parties, their speeches here, reflect the powerful growth of the international Communist and working-class movement, and also the national-liberation movement, and the unshakable loyalty of the Communists of all countries to the principles of proletarian internationalism, bequeathed to us by Marx, Engels and Lenin. All of us rejoice that, the world over, the forces of fighters for the people's happiness, for peace and social progress, for communism, are maturing and becoming strong.

Allow me, comrades, on behalf of our Congress to cordially thank the representatives of the democratic national parties of the independent African states of Guinea,

the Republic of Ghana and the Mali Republic. These parties are not communist, but we are glad that they have accepted our invitation and sent their delegations to the Twenty-Second Congress. Representatives of these parties are attending our Congress; they see and hear what the Communists are engaged in, and what tasks they set themselves.

We ask these delegations, when they return home, to convey to their parties and their peoples the best wishes of our Congress, of the Soviet people. All Soviet people wish the independent African states that have taken or are taking the path of independent economic and political development, great success and prosperity.

#### *The International Situation*

Comrades, in their speeches at the Congress the delegates approved the foreign policy of the Soviet Government. The discussion of the matters raised in the Central Committee Report and in the Report on our Party Program proceeds also outside the walls of this auditorium. It is not only our friends, but our opponents as well, who are taking part in it. They, too, voice their opinion about the domestic and foreign policy of our Party, and assess it from the point of view of their class.

The successes of the Soviet Union and of all the socialist countries have a great force of attraction. Like the rising sun, they illumine the right road for other peoples to achieve the victory of the most just social system in the shortest historical space of time.

Being aware of this, the imperialists would have liked



to retard our swift advance. It is this that explains the aggressive nature of the policy pursued by the ruling circles of the United States, Britain, France, West Germany and the other imperialist powers. Their policy is not determined by the interests of peace and the welfare of people, but by the profit-seeking interests of the monopolists, the interests of preserving the domination of the imperialists. It is for these ends that they strive to step up the tension in international relations and obstruct a peaceful settlement of the urgent international problems.

Take the problem of abolishing the survivals of the Second World War in Europe. Any further delay in solving it is fraught with grave consequences to the cause of peace.

The Soviet Union has long been proposing that a peace treaty be signed with Germany and the situation in West Berlin be normalized on that basis, ending the occupational regime in that city. The Soviet Union wants to create the conditions for peaceful coexistence in the heart of Europe.

What could be more just than this aim? Do we threaten anyone? Do we want to take something from the West? We do not. After the peace treaty is signed, the relations between the European countries will be normalized and the peoples will be better able to develop good-neighbor relations.

But in reply to our peaceful proposals, the Western Powers openly threaten to take up arms against us.

Today, the Western Powers "explain" condescendingly that the Soviet Union may, just imagine it, conclude a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic, but has no right to abandon commitments undertaken by the allied victor-countries when Hitler Germany was crushed.

What commitments do they have in mind? Is it the commitments to root out German militarism and revanchism, to which the Soviet Government is indeed applying its efforts, and which the allies had undertaken after the Second World War ended? No, they do not refer to the commitments undertaken jointly by the Western Powers and ourselves in Yalta and Potsdam, which they have long since forsaken in favor of the NATO military plans. By threatening war they want to make us perpetuate the rights of the United States, Britain and France to occupy West Berlin.

It may be asked why they need these rights now, more than 16 years after the war ended? The Western Powers pretend to need these rights "to ensure the freedom" of West Berlin. But neither the Soviet Union, nor the German Democratic Republic and the other socialist countries have any designs upon the freedom of West Berlin.

The Western Powers speak of "freedom," but what they imply by it is the occupation of West Berlin. They want to keep their armed forces and intelligence centers there, i.e., they want to continue using West Berlin in their hostile subversive activities against the German Democratic Republic, against the Soviet Union, against all the socialist countries. This is their real purpose and it is for this purpose that they cling to the rights of occupation, which have outlived their day. What is more, they want us to help them in this!

They want us, like traffic police, to safeguard the uninterrupted transportation to West Berlin of their military freights, spies and saboteurs for subversive acts against ourselves and our allies.



Who do these gentlemen take us for? Do they actually believe that they can do anything they want and that they can make us act against our vital interests, against the interests of world peace and security?

It is time—high time—they understood the simple fact that today they can negotiate with the Soviet Union, and the socialist community as a whole, only from a position of common sense, not of strength. And common sense and justice are on our side, not on theirs.

No sober-minded person can understand or accept the contention that the Western Powers have a legal or moral right to attack us in reply to the signing of a German peace treaty and the discontinuance of the occupation regime in West Berlin. Millions of Americans, Britons and Frenchmen, in fact all nations, would bitterly denounce anyone who ventured to start a war in reply to the conclusion of a German peace treaty.

The Western Powers' policy on the German question is not prompted by the interests of peace but primarily by the interests of the militarist and revanchist forces in West Germany. The chief demon who shapes that policy is Chancellor Adenauer.

Militarist, aggressive circles make no secret of their hatred for the Soviet state and our foreign policy of peace. Nor does that surprise us in the least. We cannot expect the imperialists ever to grow fond of our social system. Whatever their feelings for socialism, let them give up all hope of ever imposing their capitalist system on the socialist countries. Today we can say to them once again: Don't lose your wits, gentlemen, don't try to test the strength and solidity of our system. Everyone knows that our

enemies tried this more than once in the past and knows how those attempts ended.

As has been pointed out in the Central Committee Report, the Soviet Government holds that if the Western Powers show readiness to settle the German problem, the issue of a deadline will no longer be so important. In that case we will not insist on a treaty being signed before December 31. We are not superstitious and we believe that both the 31st and the 13th may be a lucky day. The important thing is not the date but a businesslike and fair solution of the problem. We want the Western Powers to acknowledge the necessity of doing away with the remnants of the Second World War for the sake of preserving peace on earth in the interests of all countries, of all mankind.

We are willing to hold meetings with Western representatives and to exchange views with them so as to prepare fruitful negotiations. But it is essential to actually prepare for negotiations and seek agreement in order to find, at a conference attended by all the countries concerned, mutually acceptable solutions to the issues relating to the elimination of the remnants of the Second World War.

But the Soviet Union will not stand for negotiations being held for their own sake, will not stand for the Western Powers taking advantage of them to delay peaceful settlement in Europe. If anyone is counting on that, let him know in advance that his expectations will never materialize. Such is our stand. We have adhered to it so far, and we abide by it firmly.

Bourgeois propaganda has been most vociferous lately



over the Soviet Union's forced resumption of nuclear weapons tests. It became quite hysterical after the forthcoming test of a 50 megaton nuclear weapon was announced at this Congress. There are those who assert that such tests run counter to moral principles.

A strange logic, that. When the United States first made an atom bomb, it found it legally and morally justifiable to drop such bombs on the defenseless people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Those were acts of senseless cruelty, acts utterly unwarranted from the military point of view. Hundreds of thousands of women, children and old men were burned alive by the atomic blasts. And that was done merely to frighten the peoples into bowing their heads to America's might. That massacre was regarded as something to be proud of, and strange as it may seem, is still so regarded by some U.S. politicians.

No U.S. Government or President has ever declared since the end of the war that those were immoral acts. Why? For the simple reason that they are guided by the imperialist moral principle of might being right. They hoped their monopoly in nuclear weapons would enable them to gain world dominion.

But it was not long before the Soviet Union made a powerful nuclear weapon of its own and put an end to the U.S. monopoly in this field.

When we launched our first sputniks, when Soviet ships blazed the first trails into space and Comrades Gagarin and Titov accomplished their unprecedented flights round the earth, the world saw that the Soviet Union was far ahead of the United States in important fields of science and technology. Even President Kennedy had to admit

that the United States is faced with the arduous task of overtaking the Soviet Union in this sphere. You will observe that now the word *overtake* is to be found in the lexicon as well, which goes to show that the situation has changed seriously.

I said on many occasions that the Soviet Union would overtake the United States in the output of corn. The Americans received this somewhat sceptically. But to catch up in corn output is easier than in outer space conquest. It is much more difficult up there! The facts show that the situation has changed seriously in favor of socialism.

But while the U.S. President speaks of the need to overtake the Soviet Union, Secretary of State Rusk persists in calling for a policy based on "a position of strength." A few days ago he said Mr. Khrushchev must know that the United States is strong. He made it clear that the Western Powers mean to go on negotiating with us "from a position of strength." It looks as if the right hand did not know what the left was doing.

Some Western leaders are plainly thinking the wrong way. Anyone who wants peace to be something more than just a spell of calm, or a respite, between two wars should work toward creating a situation ruling out war forever.

The Soviet Union is far from seeking to dictate its will or terms to other countries. Even though we have achieved indisputable superiority in rocketry and nuclear arms, we have proposed general and complete disarmament, and the destruction of nuclear weapons, under the strictest international control. Moreover, the Soviet Union by unilateral action effected a considerable reduction of its



armed forces, dismantled its military bases on foreign soil and carried out a series of other measures for the same purpose.

As we all know, the United States, Britain and France, far from following the Soviet example, have lately been stepping up the arms race, increasing their armed forces and holding troop maneuvers in the vicinity of our borders. They have been openly threatening us with war over the German peace treaty.

In the face of direct threats and the danger of a war, the Soviet Union was compelled to take appropriate steps to strengthen its defenses, to defend the Soviet people and the peoples of the great commonwealth of socialist countries.

We were confronted with the necessity of improving our thermonuclear weapons and testing new types of weapons. The decision which the Soviet Government took on the matter in view of a serious aggravation of international tension was appreciated by all who cherish peace and refuse to shut their eyes to the dangerous intrigues of the enemies of peace.

In adopting that decision, the Soviet Government realized, of course, that the reasons which made it renew the tests would not be understood immediately by all. Indeed, today even fair-minded people express concern over the consequences of the nuclear explosions that are being carried out. I have been receiving letters and telegrams from some of them. We have no grounds to question the sincerity of those people, who fear that nuclear blasts may contaminate the atmosphere.

To those people we say: Dear friends, ladies and gentle-

men, the peoples of the socialist countries would like nothing better than that the sky above our planet should be clear and limpid. What we live and work for is to achieve a happy future for the peoples, to turn the earth into a flowering garden. We have children, grandchildren and even great-grandchildren just as you have. We are thinking not only of their present but of their future as well. I must say that our scientists are doing everything to reduce the harmful after-effects of the tests to a minimum.

But we cannot refrain from carrying out those tests at a time when the U.S., British, French and West German imperialists are making preparations to destroy not only the socialist gains but also the peoples of our countries. For they threaten not only to contaminate the atmosphere but to take the lives of millions of people.

In the face of a very real threat to our security, the Soviet people could not forego measures to increase the defense might of the Soviet Union and the socialist commonwealth as a whole. We would be poor leaders if we did not perfect all the means of defense required for the security of the Soviet state.

It is very regrettable indeed that certain fair-minded people abroad have so far been unable to see their way clearly in the complicated international situation. Imperialist propaganda is taking advantage of the humane sentiments of those people to prevent us through them from improving the necessary means of defense and to make it easier for themselves to prepare a new war against us.

In strengthening the defenses of the Soviet Union, we act not only in our own interests but also in the interests



of all the peace-loving peoples, of all mankind. When the enemies of peace threaten us with force, they must and will be countered with force, and greater force too. If there is anyone today who still cannot understand this, he is certain to understand it tomorrow.

We again draw the attention of the leaders of the United States, Britain, France, West Germany and other countries to the fact that the most sensible thing to do is to discard the policy "from a position of strength" and "cold war." In the sphere of international relations, it is necessary to pursue the realistic policy of peaceful coexistence.

And this means that the fact has to be taken into consideration that side by side with the capitalist world there are on our planet the countries of the world socialist system that are developing successfully and growing year by year stronger. In our times it would be simply ridiculous and short-sighted not to realize this and take it into consideration.

The imperialists are not pleased that the socialist countries are growing and developing. They would like to limit us and teach us like children how to live better in this world. The imperialists, indeed, believe Soviet power to be an illegitimate child. They cannot reconcile themselves to the fact that we are now so grown up that we are not only learning but can also teach many things to others. Here, too, as you see, there is a contradiction between the old and the new. It stands to reason that we cannot and shall not live in the way the imperialists want us to. And they don't like it, they threaten us and

say they'll cane us, but if they try, we'll go for them with a broomstick!

To speak seriously, the most reasonable thing for states with different systems would be to coexist peacefully, to establish good-neighborly relations. A neighbor is not a husband and wife free to choose each other by mutual consent. We cannot choose our neighbors, their presence does not depend on our desires. Our country, for instance, has as its neighbor in the south present-day Iran, whose rulers are pursuing a far from good-neighborly policy. If it depended on us we should probably choose for ourselves a more pleasant neighbor. I suppose the rulers of Iran would also prefer a different neighbor. But historical development has placed our countries side by side, as neighbors. And there is nothing that can be done about it, we have to take into consideration the real situation as it obtains. You must not interfere in the affairs of your neighbor or allow him to interfere in yours.

I should like to deal in somewhat greater detail with such an important theoretical and political question as the character of modern imperialism and the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

The peaceful coexistence of countries with different social and political systems is a cardinal issue of our times. The states existing on the globe make up two different world systems—the socialist and the capitalist. For all the power of modern science, it is impossible to cut the globe in two and allot each of the two systems a definite area, to pull them apart if I may say so. And this means that the coexistence of countries with different social and political systems is a historical fact.



There is a grim struggle, a dispute, going on between the two social systems as to which system is the best and which provides more in the way of benefits for man. Should this dispute between the two different systems be settled through war or through peaceful economic competition? Unless one proposes to resort to armed conflict as a means of settling disputes arising between states, one must accept the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems. The socio-political system of each country is the internal affair of its people, and the people themselves should and do decide this issue as they see fit.

Some people attack us, accusing us of oversimplifying or toning down the appraisal of the international situation when we stress the necessity of peaceful coexistence in present-day conditions. We are told that whoever lays emphasis on peaceful coexistence shows an underestimation of the nature of imperialism and, indeed, comes into conflict with the Leninist appraisal of imperialism.

The classical definition of imperialism given by Lenin is well known. Lenin's definition reveals and explains the reactionary, aggressive character of imperialism as the last stage of capitalism. Imperialism is inseparably bound up with wars, with the struggle to divide and redivide the world, to enslave the peoples and bring them under the rule of monopoly capital. It is capable of engaging in any adventurous undertaking.

This appraisal of the nature of imperialism has lost none of its validity to this day. Our Party, far from denying the accuracy of the appraisal, reaffirms it, and always proceeds from it in shaping its policy, in elaborat-

ing the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary struggle, as our draft Program clearly shows. At the same time the Party must, if it adheres to creative Marxism-Leninism, take into account the important changes that have come about in the world since Lenin furnished his analysis of imperialism.

We are passing through a time when there exist two world systems, when the world socialist system is making rapid progress, and now the day is not far off when it will surpass the world capitalist system in the production of material benefits. As regards science and culture, in a number of spheres the countries of the world socialist system have already exceeded the capitalist countries considerably. Today the world socialist system is more powerful than the imperialist countries in military terms as well.

That being so, it is impossible to maintain that nothing has happened or changed in the world within recent decades. This can only be claimed by people who are out of touch with reality and see nothing of the important changes taking place in the balance of the world forces.

It is true that the nature of imperialism, its aggressive character, has not changed. But the possibilities it now has are different from those it had at the time of its undivided rule. As matters stand now, imperialism can no longer impose its will on all, nor pursue its policy of aggression, without hindrance.

The predatory aspirations of the imperialists, who are intent on redividing the world and enslaving other peoples, are checked by the invincible forces of the world socialist system, above all of the Soviet Union. These



forces subdue the wolfish appetites of the imperialists. Hundreds of millions of people in the peace-loving countries, and in fact all the peoples, are working for peace. This is the important thing, and it has to be understood.

Here is an example to make the idea I have just expressed clearer. The tiger is a beast of prey and will remain one as long as it lives. But everyone knows that a tiger will never attack an elephant. Why? After all, the flesh of an elephant is hardly less tasty than that of any other animal, and a tiger would probably not mind feasting on it. But it is afraid to attack the elephant because the elephant is stronger than the tiger. If a tiger were mad enough to attack an elephant, it would be sure to lose its life, the elephant would trample it to death.

In African and Asian films you have probably seen how kings, princes, rajahs and other titled persons go tiger shooting on elephants. They do so because they know that it is not dangerous to hunt tigers in that way. To continue the simile, it must be said that the Soviet Union, the countries of the socialist world, are today a much tougher proposition for the imperialists than the elephant is for the tiger.

Imperialism is much in the same situation as the tiger. Today the imperialists are compelled to bear in mind—not so much because they are reasonable as because that is what the instinct of self-preservation may be said to suggest—that they cannot crush, plunder and enslave everyone with impunity. The imperialists are forced to take into account the mighty forces blocking the road of imperialism. They realize that should they start a world

war, the imperialist system which is so hated by the people is bound to fall.

The might of the world socialist system is now greater than ever. That system already constitutes more than one-third of mankind, and its forces are growing fast; it is the great bulwark of world peace. The principle of the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems is of vital importance today.

The only ones who can fail to see this are the hopeless dogmatists who have memorized general formulas for imperialism and who obstinately continue to turn away from reality. This is the stand still taken by the hard-headed Molotov. He and his like do not understand the changes that have occurred in the world situation, nor the new phenomena of life; they are trailing behind developments, and have long since been a handicap and a dead-weight.

#### *Soviet-Albanian Relations*

Comrades, the Central Committee Report, as well as speeches by delegates to this Congress, dealt with the erroneous stand of the leaders of the Albanian Party of Labor, who have set out to fight against the course adopted by the Twentieth Congress of our Party and to undermine the foundations of friendship with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The representatives of fraternal parties who spoke here said that they share our concern over the state of affairs in the Albanian Party of Labor and emphatically condemn the dangerous actions of its leaders, which



prejudice the basic interests of the Albanian people and the unity of the socialist commonwealth as a whole. The speeches made by delegates and by the representatives of fraternal parties show plainly that the Central Committee of our Party was absolutely correct in reporting to this Congress, frankly and from a principled standpoint, that the situation with regard to Soviet-Albanian relations is abnormal.

It was our duty to do so because our numerous attempts to normalize relations with the Albanian Party of Labor unfortunately yielded no results. I should like to stress that the Central Committee of our Party showed the greatest patience and did all in its power to restore good relations between our two parties.

Members of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. made repeated attempts to come together with Albanian leaders to discuss the controversies that had arisen. As far back as August 1960 we twice made to the Albanian leaders a proposal for meeting but they evaded it. They were just as stubborn in rejecting talks with us during the Moscow Meeting of the fraternal parties in November 1960.

When a meeting was finally arranged at the insistence of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., Enver Hoxha and Mehmet Shehu broke it off and resorted to actions which we can only describe as provocative. The leaders of the Albanian Party of Labor ostentatiously withdrew from the November Meeting, thus showing that they refused to take account of the collective opinion of the fraternal parties. They rudely turned down our subsequent proposals for getting together, exchanging views and re-

moving the differences, and stepped up their campaign of slanderous attacks against our Party and its Central Committee.

The leaders of the Albanian Party of Labor do not scruple to use any methods to conceal from their people the truth as to what our Party and our people are doing. Albania is the only country in the socialist community that has not published the full text of the draft Program of the C.P.S.U. The Albanian press carried only some parts of the draft, deliberately creating a distorted picture of the activities of our Party. That fact speaks for itself. Indeed, even the opponents of communism were unable to keep silent about our Program.

We are aware why the Albanian leaders are concealing the Program of the C.P.S.U. from their Party and their people. They are scared stiff of the truth. The Party Program is sacred to us, it is our lodestar in communist construction.

Had the Albanian leaders published it in full, Albania's working people would have seen who is lying and who speaks the truth, would have seen that the entire activity of our Party and all its plans are in keeping with the vital interests of the peoples, including the interests of the friendly Albanian people.

Our great Party has more than once been a target for bitter and foul attacks on the part of overt and covert enemies of communism. But it must be said in so many words that we do not recall anyone passing at such breakneck speed from protestations and vows of everlasting friendship to unbridled anti-Soviet calumny, the way the Albanian leaders have done.



They apparently expect in this manner to clear the ground for winning the right to receive hand-outs from the imperialists. The imperialists are always prepared to pay thirty pieces of silver to those who split the Communist ranks. But pieces of silver have never brought anyone anything but dishonor and shame.

Obviously, the Central Committee of our Party could not avoid telling this Congress the whole truth about the vicious stand of the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labor. Had we not done so, the Albanian leaders would have continued pretending that the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party was afraid of informing the Congress of the differences it had with the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labor. Our Party and the Soviet people should know about the conduct of the Albanian leaders. And let this Congress, which is entitled to speak on behalf of the entire Party, take its stand on the matter, let it pass its judgment.

Our Congress emphasized the readiness there is to normalize relations with the Albanian Party of Labor on a basis of Marxist-Leninist principle. But what was the Albanian leaders' reaction? They gave vent to vociferous statements slinging mud at our Party and its Central Committee.

Comrade Chou En-lai, leader of the Delegation of the Communist Party of China, voiced in his speech concern over the open discussion, at this Congress, of the issue of Albanian-Soviet relations. The main point in his statement was, as we see it, anxiety that the present state of our relations with the Albanian Party of Labor might affect the unity of the socialist camp.

We share the anxiety expressed by our Chinese friends, and appreciate their concern for greater unity. If the Chinese comrades wish to apply their efforts towards normalizing the relations between the Albanian Party of Labor and the fraternal parties, there is hardly anyone who can contribute to the solution of this problem more than the Communist Party of China. That would really benefit the Albanian Party of Labor, and would meet the interests of the entire socialist commonwealth.

It is true, of course, that Communists should build their inter-Party relations in such a way as to leave no loophole for the enemy. Unfortunately, the Albanian leaders grossly flout this principle. They have long since been assailing the policy of the Twentieth Congress, thereby furnishing the bourgeois press with food for all kinds of speculation. It is also the Albanian leaders who are shouting from the housetops about their special stand and their special views which are different from those of our Party and other fraternal parties. This became evident at the Fourth Congress of the Albanian Party of Labor, and has been even more so in recent times.

Why did the Albanian leaders launch a campaign against the decisions of the Twentieth Congress of our Party? What is the heresy they detect in those decisions?

To begin with, the Albanian leaders disapprove of the resolute condemnation of the cult of Stalin's person and its harmful consequences. They disapprove of our having firmly condemned the arbitrary methods and the abuses of power which affected many innocent people, including prominent representatives of the old guard, who together with Lenin founded the world's first proletarian state. The



Albanian leaders cannot speak without annoyance and rancor of the fact that we have forever put an end to a situation in which one man was able to decide at will the most vital questions in the life of our Party and our country.

Stalin is no longer among the living, but we considered it necessary to denounce the disgraceful methods of leadership that flourished in the atmosphere of the cult of his person. Our Party does this to ensure that such practices never recur.

*One would think that the Leninist course adopted by the fraternal parties should also have been backed by the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labor, since the cult of the individual is incompatible with Marxism-Leninism. What happened, however, was that the Albanian leaders raised the cult of Stalin's person to a new high and began a bitter struggle against the decisions of the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U., in an effort to divert the socialist countries from their true course. That, of course, was no accident. All that was bad in our country at the time of the cult of the individual manifests itself in even worse form in the Albanian Party of Labor. It is no longer a secret to anyone that the Albanian leaders maintain their power by resorting to force and arbitrary methods.*

The situation in the Albanian Party of Labor has been abnormal and dangerous for a long time now. In that situation, anyone whom the leadership does not favor may be subjected to cruel measures of repression.

Where are the Albanian Communists who founded the Party and fought against the Italian and German fascist

invaders? Almost all of them have fallen victim to the bloody crimes committed by Mehmet Shehu and Enver Hoxha.

The Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. has received more than one letter from Albanian Communists asking us to prevent the Albanian leaders from victimizing the finest sons and daughters of the Albanian Party of Labor. Delegates to this Congress can form an idea of the moral countenance of the Albanian leaders by reading some of those letters.

The Albanian leaders accuse us of interfering in the internal affairs of the Albanian Party of Labor. Let me tell you just what is meant by this so-called interference.

A few years ago the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. pleaded with the Albanian leaders for Lili Gega, former member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labor, who was sentenced to death together with her husband. She had for a number of years been a member of leading bodies of the Albanian Party of Labor, and had taken part in the liberation struggle of the Albanian people. In appealing at that time to the Albanian leaders, we were prompted by humane considerations, by the desire to prevent the shooting of a woman who, moreover, was pregnant. We considered, and still consider, that as a fraternal party we had a right to express our opinion on the matter. Indeed, even in the periods of the blackest reaction the tsarist satraps, who tortured revolutionaries, could not bring themselves to execute pregnant women. And here was a socialist country that had sentenced to death, and executed, a woman



who was about to become a mother. It was an utterly unwarranted act of cruelty.

Today honest people are being victimized in Albania merely because they make bold to speak out for Soviet-Albanian friendship, of which the Albanian leaders like to talk in such pompous and florid terms.

Comrades Liri Belishova and Kogo Tashko, prominent functionaries of the Albanian Party of Labor, were expelled from the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labor; what is more, they are now being openly branded enemies of the Party and the people. This merely because Liri Belishova and Kogo Tashko had the courage to voice honestly and openly their disagreement with the policy of the Albanian leaders, and called for unity between Albania and the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

Those who today advocate *friendship with the Soviet Union* and the C.P.S.U. are regarded as enemies by the Albanian leaders.

How are we to reconcile all these facts with the vows and protestations of friendly sentiment for the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet Union that came from Shehu and Hoxha? It seems that their verbiage about friendship is so much hypocrisy and deceit.

That is the situation in the Albanian Party of Labor, and that is why the Albanian leaders are opposing the Leninist course adopted by the Twentieth Party Congress. For Shehu, Hoxha and others, to put an end to the cult of the individual would mean, in effect, to relinquish key posts in Party and government, and that is something they do not want to do. We are confident, however, that the

time will come when the Albanian Communists and the Albanian people will have their say, and then the Albanian leaders will be called to account for the damage they have done to their country, their people, and the cause of socialist construction in Albania.

Comrades, our Party will continue, as previously, to fight against revisionists of all hues. In strict pursuance of the principles of the Declaration and the Statement of the Meeting of Marxist-Leninist Parties, we have exposed and shall continue unflinchingly to expose the revisionism that found expression in the program of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. We shall also struggle persistently against dogmatism and all other deviations from Marxism-Leninism.

### *Consequences of the Personality Cult*

Comrades, the Twenty-Second Congress may in all truth be called the Congress of the Party's monolithic unity, the congress of complete unanimity and cohesion. Our enemies fear the growing unity of our ranks. They are speculating on the fact of our Congress having paid considerable attention to the harmful consequences of the personality cult and also to the complete exposure of the anti-Party factionalist group. But the enemies of communism are making these efforts in vain, they have nothing to gain from all this.

The thing that distinguishes the Marxist-Leninist parties from all other political parties is that Communists do not waver, they boldly expose the shortcomings and faults in their work and eliminate them. Criticism, even the



severest, helps us make progress. This is a sign of the Communist Party's strength, it is evidence of its unbending faith in its cause.

Many of the comrades who have spoken here have wrathfully condemned the subversive, anti-Party activities of the group of factionalists headed by Molotov, Kaganovich and Malenkov. Our entire Party and the whole people have rejected these renegades who opposed everything new, who strove to re-establish the harmful methods that were dominant at the time of the personality cult. They wanted to go back to those difficult times for our Party and our country when nobody was guaranteed against violence and repressions. Yes, that is precisely what Molotov and the others wanted.

We resolutely reject such methods of so-called leadership. We stand for the solution of inner-Party affairs on the basis of Leninist standards, by methods of conviction and broad democracy, and we shall remain firm in this respect. The Party's strongest weapon is in its ideology, the great doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, that has brought many splendid victories to our Party, the Soviet people and the international Communist movement.

Is it possible for different opinions to make their appearance within the Party at various periods, especially at turning points in its activities? Yes, it is possible. What should be done with those whose opinions differ from those of the others? We are against repressions in such cases, we stand for Leninist methods of conviction and explanation.

I will remind you of an episode from the history of our Party. On the eve of October, at the decisive moment

when the whole question was whether or not there was to be a great socialist revolution, Zinoviev and Kamenev came out in the press against the Party's intention to launch an armed uprising and thus revealed the plans of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party to its enemies. This was a betrayal of the cause of the revolution.

Lenin exposed Zinoviev and Kamenev and demanded their expulsion from the Party. The further development of the revolution was a full confirmation of the correctness of Lenin's policy of armed uprising. When Zinoviev and Kamenev later announced that they had been mistaken and admitted their guilt, Lenin displayed great magnanimity towards them and himself raised the question of their return to the Party leadership.

Lenin pursued a firm policy aimed at the development of inner-Party democracy. He relied on the support of the masses of Communists and non-Party people.

In the years that followed Lenin's death, the Leninist standards of Party life were brutally distorted under the influence of the cult of Stalin's person. Stalin elevated curtailments of inner-Party and Soviet democracy to the level of norms for inner-Party life and the life of the state. He grossly violated the Leninist principles of leadership and permitted arbitrariness and abuse of power.

Stalin could look at a comrade sitting at the same table with him and say: "There's something shifty about your eyes today." After that you could rest assured that the comrade whose eyes had supposedly been shifty became a suspect.

Comrade Delegates! I wish to inform the Congress of



the reaction of the anti-Party group to the proposal to place the question of the abuse of power in the period of the personality cult on the agenda of the Twentieth Congress.

Molotov, Kaganovich, Malenkov, Voroshilov and others raised categorical objections. In answer to their objections they were told that if they opposed the raising of the question we would let the Congress delegates decide. We did not doubt that the Congress would be in favor of discussing the question. Only then did they agree, and the question of the personality cult was presented to the Twentieth Party Congress. But the factionalists did not cease their struggle even after the Congress; they did everything they could to hamper an investigation of abuses of power, afraid that their role as accomplices in mass repressions would be revealed.

Mass repressions began after the assassination of Kirov. Considerable effort will still be required to discover who was guilty of Kirov's death. The more profoundly we study the material on Kirov's death, the greater the number of unanswered questions. There is the unaccountable fact that Kirov's murderer had before that day been twice taken into custody by security police in the vicinity of Smolny and a weapon had been found in his possession. But someone ordered his release on both occasions. Then it turned out that this armed man was in Smolny and in the very corridor along which Kirov usually passed. And it somehow happened that at the moment of the assassination the commander of Kirov's bodyguard was far behind him, although according to his instructions he

had no right to be so far away from the man he was protecting.

And there is another very strange fact. When the commander of Kirov's bodyguard was taken for interrogation—he was to have been interrogated by Stalin, Molotov and Voroshilov—an accident was deliberately staged, as the driver of the car afterwards said, by those who should have taken the guard commander for interrogation. They then reported that the commander of the bodyguard had been killed in the accident although he was actually killed by those escorting him.

That is how the man who guarded Kirov was killed. Afterwards the people who had killed him were shot. This was obviously not fortuitous, it was a planned crime. Who could have perpetrated it? A thorough study of this complicated case is now being made.

It turned out that the man who drove the vehicle in which the commander of S. M. Kirov's bodyguard was taken for interrogation is still alive. He says that on the way to the interrogation an officer of the Commissariat of the Interior sat in the cab with him. The vehicle used was a truck. (Of course, it is very strange that the man was taken to the interrogation in a truck, as though in that particular case no other vehicle could be found. Apparently all the details had been foreseen.) Two other Commissariat of the Interior officers were in the back of the truck with the commander of Kirov's bodyguard.

The driver further relates: as they were driving along the street the man sitting in the cab with him suddenly grabbed the wheel out of his hands and turned the truck



straight toward a house. The driver grabbed the wheel back and turned the truck so that only the side struck the wall of the house. He was then told that the commander of Kirov's bodyguard had been killed in that accident.

How was it that he was killed and none of those traveling with him even hurt? Why were the two officers escorting the commander of Kirov's guard themselves later shot? Obviously somebody had to have them killed in order to cover up all traces.

There is still a very great deal that has not been explained concerning the circumstances of this and other cases.

Comrades, it is our duty to make a thorough, all-round examination of cases of this sort, resulting from abuse of power. The time will come when we shall die, for we are all mortal, but as long as we continue working we can and must find out a great deal and tell the truth to the Party and the people. It is our duty to do all in our power to establish the truth now, because the more time is allowed to pass after these events, the more difficult to re-establish the truth. You cannot bring back the dead now, but the true facts must be recorded in the history of the Party. And this must be done so that similar cases can never be repeated in the future.

You may imagine how difficult it was to solve such problems when there were people in the Presidium of the Central Committee who had themselves been guilty of abusing power, of mass repressions. They stubbornly opposed all measures for the exposure of the personality cult and then developed a struggle against the Central

Committee. They wanted to change the composition of its leading body and change the Leninist policy of the Party, the course mapped out by the Twentieth Congress.

Naturally, they did not want to look into such matters. You have heard Comrade Shelepin's speech. He said a lot at the Congress but it stands to reason he did not tell you everything that has now been revealed. Thousands of absolutely innocent people perished, and, remember, every one of them is a separate story. Many leading Party, government and army people were killed.

Of course, those people in the Presidium of the Central Committee who were responsible for the breaches of legality, for the mass repressions, did everything they could to prevent the exposure of these arbitrary acts perpetrated in the period of the personality cult; then they launched an anti-Party factionalist struggle against the Central Committee leadership, concentrating their fire mainly against me, as First Secretary of the Central Committee, since I, in the course of my duty, was the one who had to raise those questions. I had to take their blows and reply to them.

The members of the anti-Party factionalist group wanted to seize the leadership in the Party and the country, and remove those comrades who had made exposures of the criminal acts perpetrated in the period of the personality cult. The anti-Party group wanted to put Molotov in the leadership. If they had done so, there would obviously have been no exposures of those abuses of power.

Even after the Twentieth Congress had been held and had condemned the personality cult, the anti-Party group did everything it could to prevent the exposures from



going farther. Molotov said that in big matters good and bad things occur. He justified the acts that had taken place at the time of the personality cult and claimed that such actions are possible and that their repetition in the future is also possible. Such was the line taken by the anti-Party group. That was no simple error. It was a calculated, criminal, adventurist position. They wanted to divert the Party and the country from the Leninist path, they wanted to return to the policy and methods of leadership of the personality cult period. They miscalculated, however. The Central Committee, our entire Party, the whole Soviet people dealt a severe rebuff to the anti-Party group, exposed and defeated the factionalists.

Delegates have spoken here with pain in their hearts of many innocent victims among prominent Party and government leaders.

Such prominent army leaders as Tukhachevsky, Yakir, Uborevich, Kork, Yegorov, Eidemann and others were victims of the repressions. These were people who had great services to their credit, especially Tukhachevsky, Yakir and Uborevich, who were outstanding army leaders. Later Blücher and other prominent army leaders suffered from the repressions.

A rather curious report once found its way into the press abroad to the effect that Hitler, when he was preparing his assault on our country, had fabricated a document showing that Comrades Yakir, Tukhachevsky and others were agents of the German General Staff. This "document," allegedly secret, fell into the hands of President Benes of Czechoslovakia and he, presumably guided by good intentions, passed it on to Stalin. Yakir, Tukha-

chevsky and other comrades were arrested and were then killed.

Many splendid commanders and political officers of the Red Army were killed. Here among the delegates there are comrades—I do not wish to mention their names, in order not to cause them pain—who spent many years in prison. They were "persuaded," persuaded by the use of certain methods, that they were either German, or British, or some other spies. Some of them "confessed." There were even cases when some of these comrades, on being told that the accusation of espionage had been withdrawn, themselves insisted on their previous depositions; they thought it better to stick to false depositions in order the more quickly to put an end to their torment, the more quickly to go to their death.

That is what the personality cult means! That was the meaning of the actions of Molotov and the others who wanted to restore the evil practices of the period of the personality cult. It was this that the anti-Party group wanted to bring the Party back to, and precisely because of that the struggle against them was so acute and so difficult. Everybody realized what it meant.

I knew Comrade Yakir very well. I also knew Tukhachevsky, but not as well as I knew Yakir. During the conference in Alma Ata this year his son, who was working in Kazakhstan, came to me. He asked me about his father. What could I say to him? When we were examining these cases in the Presidium of the Central Committee and were informed that neither Tukhachevsky, nor Yakir nor Uborevich had committed any crimes against the



Party and the state, we asked Molotov, Kaganovich and Voroshilov:

"Are you in favor of their rehabilitation?"

"Yes, we are," they answered.

"But it was you who executed those people," we said indignantly. "When were you following the dictates of your conscience, then or now?"

They did not answer that question. They never will. You have heard what kind of notations they wrote on letters addressed to Stalin. So, what can they say?

In his speech to this Congress Comrade Shelepin has told you how these fine representatives of the Communist Party in the Red Army were killed. He also quoted a letter from Comrade Yakir to Stalin, and read you the resolutions on that letter. It should be said that at one time Stalin had a lot of respect for Yakir.

I can add to that: at the moment Yakir was shot he shouted, "Long live the Party, long live Stalin!"

He had so much faith in the Party, in Stalin, that it never entered his mind that the lawlessness was deliberate. He thought that enemies had infiltrated the organs of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs.

When Stalin was told how Yakir had behaved before his death, he cursed Yakir.

Let us recall Sergo Ordzhonikidze. I was present at Ordzhonikidze's funeral. I believed what I had been told at the time, that he had died suddenly, because we knew that he had a heart disease. Much later, after the war, I learned quite by accident that he had committed suicide. Sergo's brother had been arrested and shot. Comrade Ordzhonikidze realized that he could no longer work with

Stalin, although he had formerly been one of his closest friends. Ordzhonikidze held a leading post in the Party. Lenin had known and valued him, but a situation developed in which he could no longer work normally, and in order to avoid a clash with Stalin and not share responsibility for his abuse of power, he decided to commit suicide.

The fate of the brother of Stalin's first wife, Alyosha Svanidze, who was less known to the rank and file of our Party, was also a tragic one. He was a veteran Bolshevik, but Beria, by means of various machinations, made a case to the effect that Svanidze had been placed near Stalin by the German secret service, although he was Stalin's very close friend. And Svanidze was shot. Before he was shot he was told that Stalin had said that if he asked forgiveness he would be pardoned. When Stalin's words were repeated to Svanidze he asked: "Why should I ask forgiveness? I have not committed any crime." He was shot. After Svanidze's death, Stalin said: "See how proud he is, he died but wouldn't ask forgiveness." It never occurred to Stalin that Svanidze was, above all, an honest man.

And that is how many innocent people died.

That is what the personality cult means. That is why we cannot tolerate even the slightest manifestations of abuse of power.

Comrades, letters have been addressed to the presidium of the Congress by veteran Bolsheviks, in which they write that in the period of the personality cult outstanding leaders of the Party and the Government were done to



death, such true Leninists as Chubar, Kosior, Rudzutak, Postyshev, Eikhe, Voznesensky, Kuznetsov and others.

The comrades propose perpetuating the memory of those prominent Party and Government leaders who fell victims to the unfounded repressions in the period of the personality cult.

We consider this a fit and proper proposal. It would be advisable to entrust the Central Committee that will be elected by the Twenty-Second Congress to take a positive decision on this question. Perhaps a monument should be erected in Moscow to perpetuate the memory of comrades who fell victims to arbitrary violence.

While the personality cult dominated, the Party was deprived of normal conditions of life. People who usurped power are no longer accountable to the Party, they put themselves beyond its control. That is the chief danger of the personality cult.

There must always be a situation in the Party that keeps every leader responsible to the Party and its organs, a situation in which the Party can replace any leader when it considers it necessary.

Since the Twentieth Congress, Leninist principles of Party life and collective leadership have now been restored in the Party. Propositions that restore Leninist standards of Party life and preclude the possibility of a recurrence of the personality cult are given legal force in the new Program and the Party Rules.

The Twentieth Congress of our Party condemned the personality cult, restored justice and demanded the elimination of the distortions that had taken place. The Central Committee adopted decisive measures to prevent a return

to arbitrariness and lawlessness. The anti-Party group consisting of Molotov, Kaganovich, Malenkov and others opposed the implementation of these measures in every way.

The factionalists made an attempt to seize the leadership and divert the Party from the Leninist path. They were ready to deal harshly with those who defended the policy mapped out by the Twentieth Congress. When the anti-Party group was defeated its members thought that they would be dealt with in the same way as they had dealt with people at the time of the personality cult and as they would have liked to deal with those who favored the restoration of Leninist standards in Party life.

A conversation I had with Kaganovich is typical. It took place on the second day after the June Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee, which expelled the anti-Party group from the Central Committee, completing its work. Kaganovich called me by telephone and said:

"Comrade Khrushchev, I have known you for many years. Please do not let me be dealt with as people were dealt with under Stalin."

Kaganovich knew very well how people were dealt with at the time, because he himself took part in the atrocities.

I replied:

"Comrade Kaganovich, your words are further proof of the methods you intended to use to achieve your aims. You wanted to turn the country back to the order that prevailed at the time of the cult of the individual, you wanted to use violence against people. You measure others with your own yardstick. But you are making a



mistake. We act and shall continue to act strictly in conformity with Lenin's principles. You will be given a job," I said to Kaganovich, "and you will have the opportunity of working and living in peace if you work honestly as all Soviet people are working."

That was the kind of conversation I had with Kaganovich. It shows that when the factionalists failed they thought they would be dealt with in the same way they would have dealt with Party cadres if they had succeeded in carrying out their sinister designs. But we Communists-Leninists will not tolerate the abuse of power. We firmly adhere to Party, Leninist positions and believe in the strength and unity of our Party, knowing the people are solidly with the Party.

Many delegates spoke indignantly of the participants in the anti-Party group and produced facts to show their criminal activity. The indignation of the speakers is understandable and justified.

I should like specially to say a few words about Comrade Voroshilov. He approached me several times and spoke of what was going on in his mind. One can, of course, understand the state he is in. But we political leaders cannot allow ourselves to be guided by feelings alone. Feelings differ and they may be deceptive. Here at the Congress Voroshilov listens to criticism leveled at him and goes about like a broken man. But you should have seen him at the time the anti-Party group raised its hand against the Party. Then he displayed spirit and appeared in all his regalia and armor, as it were, almost on horseback.

The anti-Party group used Comrade Voroshilov in its

struggle against the Central Committee. The factionalists did not accidentally choose him to speak to members of the Central Committee who were demanding a plenary meeting of the Central Committee. The anti-Party group calculated that Voroshilov could through his prestige influence members of the Central Committee and shake their determination in their struggle against the anti-Party group. To help Voroshilov in his talks with members of the Central Committee the anti-Party group also appointed Bulgadin. But Bulgadin did not have the prestige that Voroshilov had. They therefore pinned more of their hopes on Voroshilov as one of the oldest leaders of the Party. But even that did not help the factionalists.

The question arises how Comrade Voroshilov got himself mixed up with this group? Some comrades knew of the clashes in the personal relations between Voroshilov and Molotov, between Voroshilov and Kaganovich and between Malenkov and Voroshilov.

Yet in spite of these relations they got together. Why? On what grounds? Because after the Twentieth Congress they were afraid of further exposures of their illegal actions in the period of the personality cult, because they were afraid they would have to answer before the Party. It is, after all, no secret that they not only supported all the abuses of that time but also actively took part in them. Fear of responsibility and a desire to revive the order that prevailed in the period of the personality cult were what united the participants of the anti-Party group despite the personal dislike between them.

Comrade Voroshilov made grave mistakes. But I, comrades, consider that the approach to him must be different



than to other active participants of the anti-Party group, for example, to Molotov, Kaganovich and Malenkov. It must be said that during the acute struggle with the factionalists at the beginning of the June Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee, when Comrade Voroshilov saw the solidity of the members of the Central Committee in their struggle against the anti-Party group, he evidently realized that he had overstepped the mark. Voroshilov understood that he had aligned himself with men who were opposing the Party, and he condemned the actions of the anti-Party group and admitted his mistakes. He thereby to some extent helped the Central Committee. We cannot, comrades, underrate that step on his part, because at the time it came as support for the Party.

Kliment Yefremovich Voroshilov is widely known among the people. For that reason his participation in the anti-Party group together with Molotov, Kaganovich, Malenkov and the others strengthened this group, as it were, and made a certain impression on people inexperienced in politics. By leaving that group Comrade Voroshilov helped the Central Committee in its struggle against the factionalists. So let us answer good with good and make his position easier.

Comrade Voroshilov was sharply criticized. This criticism was correct because he had made grave mistakes and Communists cannot forget them. But I consider that our approach to Comrade Voroshilov should be considerate and that we must show magnanimity. I am sure he sincerely condemns and regrets his actions.

Kliment Yefremovich Voroshilov has lived for many years and has done a lot of good for our Party and

people. I wish to say that when the Central Committee considered Comrade Voroshilov's request to release him from his duties as President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet because of ill health, the members of the Central Committee spoke warmly of him despite the mistakes he had made. In May 1960 in recognition of his services to the Party and state, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet decorated Kliment Yefremovich Voroshilov with the title of Hero of Socialist Labor.

I think Kliment Yefremovich will, together with us, work actively for the cause of our Party.

#### *Need for Collective Leadership*

Comrades, the Twenty-Second Congress has forcefully confirmed that the course of the Twentieth Party Congress, a course to restore and further develop Leninist norms of Party and state life, to raise the guiding role of the Party and promote the creative initiative of the masses, is the only correct course. The Twenty-Second Congress consolidates this constructive course. Further guarantees against recurrences of the cult of the individual are given in the Program and Rules of the Party, and in the decisions of the Congress. The role of the Party as the great inspiring and organizing force in the building of communism is rising still higher.

I should like to say a few words about the following as well. In many of the speeches at the Congress and not infrequently in the press, too, when mention is made of the activities of the Central Committee of our Party some special emphasis is placed on my person and on my role



in the implementation of major measures of the Party and the Government.

I appreciate the kind feelings guiding these comrades. But allow me to state emphatically that everything said about me must refer to the Central Committee of our Leninist Party, to the Presidium of the Central Committee, because not a single major measure nor a single responsible speech was undertaken on anybody's personal instructions. They are all the result of collective discussion and collective decision. This concluding speech, too, has been considered and approved by the leading collective. Our great strength, comrades, lies in collective leadership, in a joint decision on all matters of principle.

Whatever abilities one leader or another may possess, no matter how much energy he puts into the work, no real, stable success can be achieved without the support of the collective, without the most active participation of the entire Party and broad masses in the implementation of planned measures. That is something all of us must understand well and constantly bear in mind.

Communist leaders owe their strength to the activity of the masses they lead. If they correctly understand and express the interests of the Party, the interests of the people, if they struggle for these interests without stinting their strength, energy and even life, if in big and small things they are inseparable from the Party as the Party is inseparable from the people, such leaders will always have the support of the Party and the people. And the cause that such a leader champions will inevitably triumph. Naturally, one must possess the qualities needed for the struggle for the cause of the Party, for the vital interests

of the people. After all, our ideological adversaries, our enemies concentrate their fire first and foremost against leaders who, by rallying the activists, and through them the entire population, round the central organs, continue along the only true Leninist path.

Here at the Congress much has been said, for example, about the furious energy with which the anti-Party factionalists Molotov, Kaganovich, Malenkov and others attacked the Leninist Central Committee of the Party and me personally. Acting against the Party line mapped out by the Twentieth Congress, the splitters concentrated their main fire against Khrushchev, who did not suit them. Why against Khrushchev? For the simple reason that by the will of the Party Khrushchev was appointed to the post of First Secretary of the Central Committee. The factionalists thoroughly miscalculated. The Party defeated them both ideologically and organizationally.

The Central Committee of our Party displayed exceptionally high political maturity and a truly Leninist understanding of the situation. It is characteristic that virtually not a single member of the Central Committee, not a candidate supported the miserable handful of splitters.

While firmly opposed to the revolting effects of the cult of the individual, Marxists-Leninists have always recognized the authority of leaders, and will continue to do so.

But it would be wrong to single out any leader, to set him apart in any way from the leading collective, to indulge in excessive praise. This is contrary to the principles of Marxism-Leninism. It may be recalled how uncompromisingly Marx, Engels and Lenin spoke out against people



who indulged in extolling their merits. Yet it is simply difficult to overrate the big role and the services Marx, Engels and Lenin, the founders of scientific communism, rendered the working class and all mankind.

Any inclination to self-praise and any special accentuation or excessive exaggeration of the role of individual leaders is profoundly alien to true Marxists-Leninists. It is simply insulting when someone unfortunately tries to set them apart, to isolate them from the guiding nucleus of comrades.

We Communists highly value and support the prestige of correct and mature leadership. We must safeguard the prestige of leaders recognized by the Party and the people. But every leader must bear in mind the other side of the matter—never to preen himself on his position, to re-member that by occupying an office he merely performs the will of the Party, the will of the people, who may have invested him with supreme power, but who never lose control over him. The leader who forgets this pays dearly for such mistakes. I would say that he pays during his lifetime, or else the people do not forgive him after his death, as in the case of the condemnation of the cult of Stalin's personality. A man who forgets that it is his duty to carry out the will of the Party, the will of the people cannot, properly speaking, be called a real leader. There is no room for such "leaders" either in the Party or in the state apparatus.

To be sure, for many reasons a great deal of power is concentrated in the hands of the individual holding a high office. A leader appointed by the Party and the people must not abuse his powers. In the Reports to the

Congress mention has already been made of the measures we have effected, and will continue to effect, in order that the ugly phenomena of the personality cult never recur. But there is one thing no clause in the rules can provide for—the collective of leaders must understand well that a situation must not be allowed to arise, where anyone, albeit the most deserving authority, may cease to heed the opinion of those who advanced him.

It is impermissible, inadmissible, comrades, to let a situation develop where the prestige of an individual assumes such forms that he begins to think he may do anything he pleases and no longer needs the collective. In such cases the individual concerned may stop heeding the voice of the other comrades put into high office like himself, and may start to suppress them. Lenin, our great teacher, was firmly opposed to this, and the Party has paid too heavy a price for not having heeded his wise counsel in due time.

So let us be worthy pupils of Lenin in this important matter as well.

### *Struggle Between Two Ideologies*

Comrades, for more than a hundred years a struggle has been going on between the two ideologies—the ideology of the working class as expressed in the Marxist theory of scientific communism, and the ideology of the exploiting classes, bourgeois ideology.

With the appearance of the theory of Marx and Engels, the working class, the most revolutionary class, acquired a powerful ideological weapon in the struggle for its



liberation, the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of society, for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the early days the ideas of scientific communism were comprehensible only to the more progressive intelligentsia and the advanced section of the working class. The path of development of revolutionary consciousness has been no easy one. The spreading of the new ideas and their assimilation met with no little difficulty because these ideas implied the destruction of the capitalist system, the system of brutal exploitation.

It was a struggle that called for many sacrifices and privations, called for great exploits in the name of the future that was to be built up on the ruins of capitalism. It called for a grim revolutionary class struggle, a struggle that only the most courageous people could stand up to, people who had instilled in themselves hatred for the old exploiting system and were fully confident of the inevitable victory of the working class. It was the best of the best who took this path, the finest of the revolutionaries, and they were victorious after overcoming incredible difficulties.

It was the great good fortune of the working class of our country, that more than half a century ago the leadership of their revolutionary struggle was assumed by the Party created by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. At its Second Congress the Party adopted its First Program, that had been drawn up with the close collaboration of Lenin. The chief task promulgated by that Program was the overthrow of the power of the capitalists and landlords and the establishment of the power of the working class, of all working people.

Under the banner of the great ideas of Marxism the working people of Russia accomplished the socialist revolution in October 1917 and took power into their own hands.

Having taken power, however, the working people received as their heritage an economy ruined by the world war. They had to overcome untold difficulties, suffer great privations and make many sacrifices. They had to repel the invasion of the interventionists, suppress internal counter-revolution, build up an industry, put ruined and neglected agriculture on its feet, rehabilitate transport services, organize trading and overcome havoc and hunger. The working class had to have a clear understanding of the need to work devotedly for the sake of the morrow, for the sake of the future.

It was a very complicated and difficult, but noble task. Only people who were willing to make sacrifices today to create a better future for their children and grandchildren could be drawn into the struggle to fulfil this task.

After the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat our Party adopted its second Program, the Program of socialist construction, of which Lenin was the author. The great result of the implementation of the second Program was the final and complete victory of socialism in our country, which became a country with a mighty industry, a large-scale agriculture and advanced science and culture.

We have now entered the third stage of the great struggle, comrades. We are adopting the third Program of the Leninist Party, the Program of communist construction. How far we have advanced, how different con-



ditions are today from those under which the second, to say nothing of the first, Program was adopted!

Socialist economy has built up such strength and possesses such energy, that from the heights we have reached we can now challenge the most powerful capitalist country, the United States of America, to peaceful economic competition.

The struggle between the two ideologies is quite different from that of the early days of Marxism. The ideas of scientific socialism have conquered the minds of the masses and become a tremendous material force. They have been put into effect, and the material and technical base of the new society is being created by the efforts of the people. The struggle has shifted from the sphere of pure ideology to that of material production.

Today, not only the most advanced section of society, but the peoples of our country and other socialist countries as a whole are conducting a struggle for the accomplishment of the great ideals of communism. The Soviet Union is now both literally and figuratively storming the heavens, and in implementing the ideas of communism is demonstrating the superiority of the socialist over the capitalist system.

Today socialism is not merely an idea for the sake of which the Party calls upon the working people to struggle. Socialism has become a reality. We say—look at the Soviet Union, at the socialist countries, and you will see what the working class, all the working people, are capable of when they are in power and are implementing the ideas of scientific communism. Look at what they have achieved in a brief historical period! Their successes,

their example, have a powerful influence on the masses of the working people, on the peoples of the whole world.

Socialism is already today, and not somewhere in the future, giving great material and spiritual benefits to the peoples who are building a new life. The example of the socialist countries is becoming more and more attractive to the working people of all countries. The ideas of communism are spreading far and wide, are taking deeper root and are inspiring hundreds of millions of people to become the makers of their own history.

The powerful and ever more rapid movement towards communism will sweep aside everything that bars the way to our cherished goal—the building of the most just society on earth. This is not the struggle of one group against another with the object of imposing its rule over the other; it is a struggle against oppression, slavery and exploitation, a struggle for the happiness of all. We firmly believe that the time will come when the children and grandchildren of those who today do not understand or do not accept communism, will live under communism.

#### *From Socialism to Communism*

Comrades, the tasks which the Twenty-Second Congress sets the Party and the people are truly grandiose. It will require the immense efforts of the whole Party, the whole people to translate our majestic Program into reality. But we have all that is needed to make this Program a reality.

The task is now, to direct, without wasting a single day, all our efforts, the tireless, inexhaustible energy of our



people towards accomplishing the practical tasks of communist construction.

The Program has been unanimously endorsed by the Congress. The task now is to realize it with all the passion and fervor characteristic of Bolsheviks.

Our Congress is a remarkable demonstration of the readiness and determination of the Party, the whole Soviet people, to achieve their great aim—the construction of communism. And there is no doubt communism will be built in the Soviet Union. Such is the will of the Party, the will of the people!

After the Twenty-Second Congress the delegates will be returning to various parts of our great country, equipped with the program for building a communist society. Our aims are clear, our paths are charted. And we shall start implementing our Program not in the distant future, but today.

Comrades, never before have our forces, the forces of world socialism, been as strong as they are today. The new Program opens before the Party and the people the most radiant, breathtaking vistas. The sun of communism is rising over our country! We shall do everything to hasten, by our devoted labor, the day when this sun will shed its light over the vast, boundless spaces of our wonderful country! We shall devote all our forces, all our Bolshevik energy to the cause of the triumph of communism.

Under the leadership of the glorious Leninist Party—forward to the victory of communism!



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